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## MAJOR ISSUES IN UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

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ON THE verge of the nation-wide adoption of unemployment insurance, there is a very widespread lack of definite understanding of the issues and objectives involved. Unemployment insurance has been in operation in England since 1911 and more recently has been adopted in most other Western European countries. In this country it has been the subject of much controversy for more than a decade, but outside of some twenty voluntary plans and the Wisconsin law, which came into operation only last July, there has been no actual experience with this institution. Within a limited circle, there is intense debate over details; outside of this small group, only a vague concept of what the implications are.

### PLACE OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION IN A PROGRAM FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY

For a better understanding of the problem, it seems appropriate to begin with the place of unemployment compensation in a comprehensive program for economic security. On this, as on all other questions relating to unemployment compensation, there is much disagreement, but there is little dispute over facts.

The present popularity of unemployment insurance is, to a considerable extent, due to the prevailing notion that it is a substitute

for relief. This is a very erroneous impression. In no country has unemployment insurance replaced relief. In England only half of the unemployed insured workers are now receiving unemployment insurance benefits. The others have exhausted their benefit rights and are being supported by public assistance grants or local poor relief. In Germany only one-eighth of the unemployed insured workers, according to the latest available figures, are in receipt of standard unemployment insurance benefits. Every plan for unemployment insurance in this country except the Lundeen bill (which is so vague upon this point, as upon most others, that it is impossible to say what it does provide) applies only to workers who become unemployed after the system has been in operation for some time—usually two years after collection of contributions is begun. Unemployment insurance has little direct relation to the present depression. It will not lessen the relief load for several years, nor give people now on relief any increased allowances.

Every plan (except again possibly the Lundeen bill, which is essentially a relief rather than an unemployment insurance measure) also strictly limits the periods during which benefits can be paid to unemployed workers. In England the benefits are flat sums varying with the number of dependents, but range between 30 and 40 per cent of the average earnings of the industrial workers. These benefits are payable for a maximum period of twenty-six weeks, which is increased to a full year if the unemployed insured worker has not drawn any benefits for five years previously. In Germany standard benefits are paid for only six weeks, after which a means test is applied to determine eligibility for extended benefits. Actuaries of the Committee on Economic Security have estimated the probable operation of a national system of unemployment insurance in this country. Benefits of 50 per cent of wages and not exceeding \$15 per week, with a four week's waiting period, can be paid for a maximum of only sixteen weeks, if the contribution rate is 3 per cent of pay-roll; for twenty-two weeks on a 4 per cent contribution rate; and for thirty-nine weeks on a 5 per cent rate—and these figures assume that the system should not be expected to remain entirely self-supporting during a prolonged depression.

During the present depression all countries with unemployment

insurance systems increased contribution rates and decreased benefits, and, in addition, most of them made loans or outright grants to the unemployment insurance funds. Where, as in Germany and Italy, they did not do so, the benefits were reduced to a point where little remains of unemployment insurance except the machinery. In all unemployment insurance bills in this country, authority is given for the reduction of benefits when the funds run low, and such reductions are inevitable in prolonged depressions unless the government comes to the rescue.

Unemployment insurance, then, should be regarded merely as a front line of defense against the hazard of unemployment. It is of value principally during the period just after the loss of a job when the worker has a reasonable expectation of returning to his old line of work within a short time. At this stage, the unemployed worker is, naturally, very reluctant to accept unaccustomed work which will remove him from immediate consideration for re-employment when hoped-for new orders come in. The great majority of all workers who are laid off go back to work within the short periods during which unemployment compensation can be paid, but inevitably some workmen—and more of them in depression than in normal times—will still be without work when benefit rights are exhausted. For such workmen, something beyond unemployment compensation is needed. That something more may be direct relief or work relief, both of which differ fundamentally from unemployment compensation in that they are based upon need rather than a contractual right.

Unemployment compensation and relief can be combined, but, as shown by England's experience from 1924 to 1931, the results are almost sure to be disastrous. Unemployment compensation works best when it is given as a matter of right in such limited amounts and for such limited periods as the receipts and the reserves warrant. These amounts and periods can be increased with higher contribution rates, but cannot possibly be made to cover all unemployment. Unemployment compensation is indispensable in a program for a reasonable degree of economic security, but should be conceived of as merely one of several measures needed for protection against the hazard of unemployment. It is complementary to, and not a substitute for, public assistance and public employment.

## FEDERAL VERSUS STATE ADMINISTRATION

Withal, unemployment compensation is indisputably worth while. Had a nation-wide system of unemployment insurance with a 3 per cent contribution rate been in operation in this country from 1922 on, above \$10,000,000,000 would have been collected by 1933 and disbursed to unemployed workmen, mainly during the first years of the depression. Such disbursements would have had great value in maintaining purchasing power at a critical period, preserving morale, and lessening relief. Although not well adapted to many groups of workers, it is peculiarly valuable to the largest element in our entire population, the industrial workers who are ordinarily steadily employed.

The present is, moreover, clearly the opportune time for a real beginning with unemployment compensation. We are now, fortunately, on the upswing of the business cycle. While there is still a terrifying amount of unemployment, the people who have jobs are no longer losing them in abnormal numbers. From the point of view of building up reserves, which is essential to a good start, no more favorable period will probably present itself for a long time. Politically, also, this is the time for action. Not only do we now have a national Administration which is earnestly desirous of establishing safeguards against the major hazards and vicissitudes of life, but public opinion is well prepared for such measures. When unemployment is less prevalent, it will be much more difficult to secure action on unemployment compensation. In the depression of 1920-21, President Harding named a commission to study methods of preventing unemployment and mitigating its evils. That commission made an excellent report, but not until the depression was over. There is good reason for believing that if the recommendations of this commission had been adopted some of the worst mistakes made in the present depression would have been avoided. As it was, the commission's work resulted in precisely nothing, because the favorable time for action had passed.

Conceding that unemployment compensation should be established on a nation-wide basis now, what sort of unemployment compensation system should be adopted? Ought we to have federal or state administration?



Prior to the New Deal, no advocate of unemployment insurance would have hesitated to answer: "Under the Constitution unemployment compensation must necessarily be established along state lines." The Democratic national platform of 1932 specifically committed the dominant party to "unemployment insurance and old age pensions through state legislation."

The New Deal has altered all this in the minds of some sincere advocates of unemployment insurance. While some of the support for a federally administered system of unemployment compensation represents merely the old game of opponents playing federal and state action against each other in the hope of defeating both, there can be no doubt of the sincerity of some of the recent converts to a federal system. They are people who have become disheartened because it is so very difficult to get even one state to act, let alone forty-eight states. The prestige of state governments is at a low point, while the present national Administration commands utmost confidence. Further, it is undeniable that a uniform, federally administered system would have great advantages both to corporations operating in several states and to employees whose work takes them into different states. The difficulty of providing unemployment compensation for such workmen under state systems of administration is the strongest argument for an exclusively federal system.

But there are also strong arguments on the other side. To begin with, despite the New Deal legislation, there is grave doubt whether the federal government has authority to establish a national system of unemployment compensation. There is no constitutional basis for such action except the taxing power and the welfare clause. The latter has never been regarded by the Supreme Court as conferring any powers on the Congress not granted specifically, and the former, while broad, cannot be employed where the Court deems the tax a mere subterfuge for unauthorized regulation. Should the Agricultural Adjustment Act and the National Industrial Recovery Act be sustained, the Court's decisions may be broad enough to warrant setting up a federally administered unemployment insurance system (provided that they do not hinge upon the emergency character of these acts), but at present the only safe course is still state administration.

To many who have had experience with both federal and state administrations, moreover, the assumed vast superiority of federal over state action seems debatable. Federal personnel is on the whole undoubtedly superior and federal salaries are distinctly higher. On the other hand, the very size of the federal administrative machine is a great handicap. Its vast amount of red tape and its extreme centralization often paralyze action. There is probably no less friction between federal bureaus and departments than between states. The Seventy-third Congress was more ready to pass forward looking legislation than any state legislature has ever been, but that was probably due more to the extreme emergency confronting the nation than to the normal superiority of members of Congress over state legislators. In this connection it is not amiss to call attention to the fact that Congress did not enact a workmen's compensation act for the government's own employees or for the District of Columbia until ten years after all progressive states had taken such action.

What sort of unemployment compensation act would emerge from the present Congress were it to attempt to write a complete law is entirely a matter of conjecture. The truth is that conditions are so diverse in this great country that no single act could meet the situation unless it delegated broad discretionary powers to an administrative agency, and the present Congress has indicated that it is in no mood to follow the example set by the preceding Congress in this respect. In all probability a federal unemployment compensation act would prove very disappointing to the more progressive industrial states, if for no other reason than that the non-industrial states have the largest number of senators.

These and still other reasons seem to throw the balance against an exclusively federal system. An exclusively state system is even more out of the question. States cannot go it alone in this respect. The failure to secure state unemployment compensation laws is conclusive proof of this. While the subject has been agitated for years, while many bills have been introduced in practically all legislatures, and numerous interim committees and commissions have reported favorably, only one state has passed an unemployment compensation law, and that, quite naturally, is a very meager law. States will

not enact unemployment compensation laws if it means placing their industries at a disadvantage in interstate competition. To make it possible for the states to act, the federal government must protect them from the unfair advantage enjoyed by states that do not act. That can be accomplished only through a uniform tax on employers in all states, with an offset or refund of the tax to states which have set up unemployment compensation systems.

The President has characterized the desirable relationship of the federal and state governments with respect to unemployment compensation as "a co-operative federal-state system"—a New Deal in government, in which there is not a conflict over the respective rights of the federal and state governments, but a joint attack on the grave problems of insecurity. In such a co-operative federal-state system it is clearly the function of the federal government to make it possible for the states to act, to encourage them to do so, and to help them with their problems. It alone can equalize competitive costs and it alone can invest and liquidate reserve funds in such a manner that they will promote industrial stability, rather than the reverse. It must also assume responsibility for the compilation of nation-wide statistics of unemployment and give guidance to the states in the difficult problems of administration. Beyond that, wide latitude to the states in meeting their peculiar conditions seems desirable. By this means both uniformity, where it is essential, and diversity, where necessary, can be secured.

The Committee on Economic Security, its staff, and the two major advisory groups, the Technical Board and the Advisory Council, gave much attention to two other functions which the federal government may very properly perform in a co-operative federal-state system of unemployment compensation. These are re-insurance and transfer of compensation rights where workers move from one state to another. The desirability of such arrangements is at once obvious, but the difficulties in working them out practically are so great that every group which gave them consideration concluded unanimously that much further study will be necessary before anything along this line can be included in the federal act. Such study should be one of the major duties of the federal administrative agency.

## TAX OFFSET VERSUS TAX REFUND

Accepting the view that a co-operative federal-state system of unemployment compensation is best and safest under existing conditions, considerable controversy has developed, within the circle of people who have been employed or consulted by the President's Committee on Economic Security, over the type of federal law which should be enacted. This is the controversy which within this inner circle has been referred to as "the Wagner-Lewis versus the subsidy plan."

The "Wagner-Lewis" plan was incorporated in the unemployment insurance bill indorsed by the President in the Seventy-third Congress and is also included in the Administration's economic security bill in the present session. It provides for the levy of a pay-roll tax on all employers subject to the act, with a credit (in the present bill up to 90 per cent of the federal tax) for the contributions paid by any employer during the taxable year to the proper state authorities under the provisions of state unemployment compensation acts. When first announced it was hailed by all advocates of unemployment insurance (to quote Professor Paul H. Douglas) as "a truly brilliant method" and as representing "federalism at its best." Now, however, many of its former champions, along with the opponents of unemployment insurance, are very critical of this method.

The explanation of this change in opinion is the suggestion in the interim of a new method for inducing the states to enact unemployment insurance laws. This method has been called the "subsidy" or "grant-in-aid" plan, but is more accurately described as a tax-return plan. It proposes that the federal government shall levy a pay-roll tax on all employers throughout the country and then return to states which enact approved unemployment insurance laws all or a stated percentage of the pay-roll taxes collected from the employers within these states.

This is not a subsidy or grant-in-aid as these terms have been understood heretofore. No prior subsidy has ever been based upon the taxes collected from the state to which the grant-in-aid is made. Rather than a subsidy this is an earmarked tax which is returned to the states from which collected. The only essential difference be-

tween this plan and the Wagner-Lewis proposal lies in the collection of the pay-roll tax. Under the present Wagner-Doughton-Lewis bill the states collect the contributions required from employers for unemployment insurance purposes and then deposit the moneys collected in the United States Treasury, to the credit of the state. Under the subsidy plan the pay-roll tax will be collected by the federal government and the moneys from a given state credited to the account of that state in the United States Treasury. Aside from this difference in the way in which the moneys credited to each state in its unemployment insurance account reach the United States Treasury, there is nothing that can be done under the subsidy system that cannot be done under the Wagner-Lewis plan, or vice versa.

The advocates of the subsidy plan have advanced many reasons for this preference. Many of them believe that it is but a stepping-stone to a national system of unemployment insurance; in fact, one of its leading advocates always refers to it as a "national plan." Since under this plan, as well as the other, each state will have its own unemployment insurance system, it clearly does not eliminate the greatest weakness of state systems, the difficulties arising out of the shifting of workmen from one state to another. Under this plan, each state will have its own law and its separate fund, which presumably would lead to the same resistance against the subsequent establishment of a national system as might arise under the Wagner-Doughton-Lewis bill.

Many advocates of the subsidy plan believe that it lends itself more readily to the insertion of numerous standards in the federal act with which the state laws will have to comply, and that this will bring about a desirable uniformity in these laws. Whether or not this is a valid argument is certainly debatable. Keen students of federal legislation have noted the very strong feeling in this country that the federal government should give aid to the states without trying to dictate to them. This sentiment seems to be particularly strong in the present Congress, and it is not at all improbable that a bill based on the subsidy plan would wind up with fewer standards than are included in the Wagner-Doughton-Lewis bill.

There also are arguments that the subsidy plan is sounder constitutionally. As neither the Wagner-Lewis nor the subsidy plan has

come before the courts, this argument is clearly speculative. The Wagner-Lewis device has in its favor a direct precedent in the unanimous decision of the United States Supreme Court upholding the provision in the federal estates tax law allowing credit up to 80 per cent of the federal tax for the amounts paid to the states under their inheritance tax laws. On the other hand, it has been held that a taxpayer cannot question a subsidy payment paid out of general revenues. Both methods of securing state action give rise to the same question, whether the pay-roll tax is in fact a tax or a disguised method of regulation. Both are probably valid and attorneys differ as to which is safest.

This leaves the more direct method of getting the unemployment compensation funds into the United States Treasury as the chief advantage of the subsidy system. There appear to be no constitutional obstacles in any state to the deposit of moneys collected for unemployment compensation purposes in the United States Treasury, but it must be conceded that the Wagner-Doughton-Lewis bill requires two operations to get these moneys into the Treasury and the subsidy plan only one.

The strongest arguments on the other side are that the subsidy plan would leave the states entirely dependent upon the federal grants, since their unemployment compensation laws would not include any revenue raising features. There would, thus, be danger that the entire structure of unemployment insurance in this country might be wrecked through an adverse court decision or the failure of Congress to renew its annual appropriation for this purpose.

Another consideration which carried great weight with administration and Congressional leaders in their decision in favor of the Wagner-Lewis rather than the subsidy plan was the use of the term "subsidy" to designate the tax-return method. While it does not contemplate a subsidy from general revenues, there is danger that the federal grants will come to be regarded as such and that there will be great pressure upon the federal government to come to the rescue of states when they fall into difficulties. If the subsidy plan is accompanied by requirements for high and uniform minimum benefits throughout the country, as most of its advocates urge, then many states will certainly get into serious difficulties. The subsidy

plan, consequently, may turn out to be a most dangerous device from the point of view of the United States Treasury. It presents the dangers of a system under which the United States government may be called upon to underwrite the state funds, without having any control over them.

Quite frankly, these arguments against the subsidy plan are matters of judgment and opinion as are the arguments in its favor. The truth seems to be that the differences between these methods of bringing about state action have been exaggerated. Either method will accomplish the purpose of removing the disadvantages to which states at present must subject their employers if they enact unemployment compensation laws.

At this point, it should be noted that a subsidy of the usual kind will not accomplish this most essential purpose. Suggestions for such a subsidy from general tax revenues have been made from time to time and are now being renewed. Such a subsidy, if of a sizeable amount, would, it is true, operate as an inducement to the state legislatures to enact unemployment insurance laws, but would still have the employers in these states at a great disadvantage in interstate competition as against employers in states which have no such laws. It is only through a uniform pay-roll tax that this greatest obstacle to state action can be removed.

#### SOURCE OF FUNDS

The suggestion that a subsidy from general revenues should be used to induce the states to enact unemployment compensation laws comes at this time from members of Congress who object to a pay-roll assessment against employers as a sales tax. This is also the argument against the pending economic security bill used by advocates of the Lundeen bill, which has a surprisingly large support despite its extreme vagueness. According to this view, the costs of all unemployment compensation should be met from income and inheritance taxes, rather than from contributions of employers and employees.

This argument has a strong appeal to liberals who do not like sales taxes. But is a contribution by employers to an unemployment insurance fund really a sales tax? In what essential does it differ



from accident (workmen's) compensation? Certainly no one proposes that accident compensation shall be paid from income or inheritance taxes, any more than that the wage bill shall be so paid. Instead, accident compensation is regarded as a proper charge to be included in the cost of production, to be passed on to the consumers. Unemployment compensation, likewise, should be so regarded, particularly when it is limited to the period following the loss of a job while the employee has a good chance of returning to work soon and often is encouraged to wait for his old job by the employer himself.

Many, perhaps most, advocates of unemployment insurance who do not sympathize with the view that unemployment compensation should be paid for entirely from income and inheritance taxes nevertheless believe that the government should make large contributions to the unemployment insurance funds. In England there is a tri-party arrangement, the government, the employers, and the employees all contributing equally. A similar arrangement is strongly urged by many of the dyed-in-the-wool advocates of social insurance in this country.

If unemployment insurance is considered a form of relief, there is much to be said for government contributions. If it is set up merely as a first line of defense, the argument for government contributions becomes much less strong. Under such a concept, government contributions should be used to provide work or public assistance to those whose unemployment benefit rights have been exhausted or who are excluded from the system entirely, rather than to increase unemployment compensation benefits. Particularly at this time when 10,000,000 workers are without employment, there is every reason to urge that whatever funds can be provided from general revenues should be used to give work and assistance to the unemployed, rather than to be paid into reserve funds from which benefits will be paid some years from now to those who may be out of work at that time.

This is the position taken by the Committee on Economic Security and the President. The pending economic security bill is a companion measure to the four-billion-dollar appropriation for public work. While the economic security bill carries no government contribution to unemployment compensation, the Administration program contemplates the largest contribution ever made from general

revenues toward meeting the costs of unemployment. In contrast with the proposed four-billion-dollar appropriation for public work, plus eight hundred million more for relief prior to July 1, 1935, the British government contributed and loaned to the unemployment insurance fund a total of 355 million pounds in the fourteen years ending in March, 1934—considerably less than one-half the contemplated expenditure from general revenues in this country in one year to provide work for the unemployed. Certainly, the American government cannot fairly be charged with being penurious if it prefers to use its funds to aid those now without employment, rather than to contribute to reserve funds to pay unemployment compensation in the future.

Apart from the government, the possible sources of funds for unemployment compensation are the employers and the employees. Except for those who hold that unemployment compensation should be paid for entirely from income and inheritance taxes, there are none who would excuse the employers from contributing. With reference to employer contributions there is no serious question other than how high the contribution rate should go.

On first thought it might appear that it makes little difference how high a rate employers are compelled to pay, so long as all must pay the same rate. By and large, the employers shift their contributions to the consumers; but they cannot always do so. A high rate may seriously curtail consumption and, also, has some tendency to encourage the replacement of labor by machinery. At this time some consideration may very properly be given to the fact that recovery is still incomplete and that industry cannot stand as high a contribution rate as in more normal times. In England the employer contributions average about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of pay-roll; in Germany, about 3 per cent. In this country, the Wisconsin act provides for a 2 per cent contribution. The Wagner-Lewis bill as introduced in the Seventy-third Congress provided for a 5 per cent rate, but, as revised by the Ways and Means Committee, for only a 3 per cent rate. This is the highest employer contribution rate proposed in any state bill. How high the rate shall be, however, is largely a matter of judgment, to be decided by practical considerations, rather than abstract theories.

Regarding employee contributions, the main issue is whether or

not employees should be required to contribute at all. Most of those who advocate employee contribution believe that it is immaterial how much the employees contribute so long as they are required to contribute some part of the costs. Those who hold this view argue that if the employees contribute they will have a greater interest in conserving the reserve funds and also in resisting unreasonable increases in benefits, since, presumably, increases in the contribution rates of employers would be paralleled by increases in the contributions of employees. Further, it is claimed that employee contributions are needed to assure the employees a real voice in the administration of unemployment compensation.

On the other hand, it is urged that employee contributions are a tax on wages, imposed at a flat rate and without exemption even of the lowest paid wage-earners, whose income is often insufficient. Moreover, such a tax on wages, unlike the pay-roll tax on employers, cannot be shifted to the consumers. In fact, the wage-earners, as consumers, pay part of the tax imposed on employers and, with employee contributions, would have to pay still another tax.

The Committee on Economic Security and the pending Administration bill leave the question of employee contributions entirely to the states. No employee contributions are required in the federal act, but the states are left free to add employee contributions if they wish. Through employee contributions the benefits that can be paid can be increased. There may also be something in the argument that employee contributions will give labor a better claim to participation in the administration of the system and an interest in conserving the funds. On the other hand, employee contributions certainly are a tax on those least able to pay and represent a departure from traditional principles in this respect.

#### COVERAGE

Who should be brought under unemployment compensation? This is a practical question to which no dogmatic answer can be given. The natural course for people who believe in unemployment compensation will be to include everyone who can possibly be included. Administrative difficulties and, above all, the obvious fact that if some groups of employees draw an undue share of the total

benefits others will receive less than they should are, however, countervailing considerations which render it desirable not to attempt maximum possible coverage, at least at the outset.

In European countries there are no numerical limitations in the social insurance laws such as are included in all but one of the American workmen's compensation acts. Such numerical limitations are illogical but are certain to be urged on both traditional and practical grounds. They greatly reduce the number of employees included within the scope of the law. More than one-half of all manufacturing establishments have five or less employees, but employ only 3 per cent of all employees engaged in manufacturing; 85 per cent of all retail establishments fall in this class but have only 25 per cent of the employees in this industry.

Traditionally, in this country, agriculture, domestic service, and employment "not in the usual course of the trade, business, or profession of the employer" are exempted not only from the workmen's compensation laws but from practically all labor laws. Agriculture has been exempted from the British unemployment insurance act until now, when, finally, a special compensation scheme for agricultural workers is under consideration. Inclusion of these groups of workers is difficult administratively and, for short-time and intermittent workers, is of relatively little value, since they seldom accumulate any substantial benefit rights. Unquestionably, it is desirable to include commercial agriculture and large domestic establishments, but as realists we must recognize that legislative bodies will probably prefer the traditional complete exemption.

In the Wisconsin law, regular part-time workers are excluded. This was an exemption strongly opposed by the champions of this legislation and is without any justification; in fact, a difficult administrative problem is created through exclusion, while none arises through inclusion. Part-time workers should, of course, be compensated only on the basis of the wage loss they actually sustain, rather than on the basis of full-time work; but to deny them any protection is both unjust and troublesome.

With regard to seasonal industries, also, there is sure to be considerable demand for exemption. As British experience has demonstrated, there is danger that employees in such industries will draw

a very undue share of the total money available for unemployment compensation unless the special restriction is introduced that only unemployment occurring within the actual season of work can be compensated. With such a provision, however, there is no good reason for excluding seasonal industries.

Quite often religious, charitable, and educational institutions are likewise exempted. Aside from tradition there is no good reason for such an exemption, and it seems little short of hypocritical that organizations which have urged the enactment of social legislation, as have many of these groups, should themselves ask to be excluded. To their credit be it said that but few such organizations are asking for an exemption at this time.

In any federal law the employees of the states and their political subdivisions must necessarily be excluded, since the federal government cannot tax the states. It is utterly illogical that governments should impose obligations on private employers that they will not themselves assume, but the inclusion of any public employees must necessarily be left to the states.

#### BENEFITS

The benefits which can be paid, manifestly, depend primarily upon the rates of contribution. The higher the contribution rates, the more liberal the benefits can be. There are some important questions regarding benefits, however, which are independent of the contribution rate.

A fundamental question is whether the benefits should be designed to cover primarily short-time or depressional unemployment. Either of these purposes is quite logical. If the former is deemed the major objective, a shorter waiting period and a longer maximum duration of benefits are warranted than if the system is primarily designed for depressional unemployment. In either case, the benefit rate should be high enough to sustain the unemployed worker and his family while benefits are being paid. In this country, benefits of less than 50 per cent of the wage are not likely to be satisfactory, but an absolute maximum limitation of possibly \$15 per week is justified. All states also need a minimum benefit, which obviously should vary

from state to state, to conform with differences in costs of living and economic standards.

Available data indicate very great differences in the past unemployment rates of the several states, the range in the average rates for the years 1930-34 being from a minimum of 17 per cent to a maximum of above 34 per cent. It may be that over the entire business cycle these extremes would be less pronounced, but it would seem clear that benefit rates cannot be the same everywhere, unless the contribution rates are higher in the states with greater unemployment or the government is willing to underwrite the funds. The most comprehensive calculations of the benefits which can be paid are those which were made by the statistical staff of the Committee on Economic Security, based on the average unemployment throughout the country in the twenties and in the depression period. Most states would seem to be reasonably safe if they base their benefit schedules on the experience throughout the country in the years 1922-31, as indicated in the report of the Committee on Economic Security; but states with very unstable industries should either increase their contribution rates or reduce their maximum benefit periods. While uniformity in benefit rates throughout the country is desirable from the workers' point of view, any attempt to impose such uniformity from Washington will almost surely result in the insolvency of many state funds.

Benefits for partial unemployment are a special problem which the authors of any unemployment insurance legislation must face. Such partial unemployment results most frequently from a policy of spreading the work, through reducing the hours of labor when orders diminish. This policy has always been advocated by organized labor, but only within limits. It involves a wage loss for which many workmen will feel that they should be compensated. To compensate all partial unemployment, however, may result in encouraging industries to maintain a large surplus labor supply, through using unemployment compensation to supplement inadequate wages. This has occurred in England and should be avoided in this country. At the other extreme a policy may be adopted under which no compensation is paid for partial unemployment until the earnings of the workers are reduced to less than the amount they

can receive as compensation for total unemployment. This is objected to on the grounds that it gives the workers nothing more if they work than if they do not do so. To overcome this objection and yet not throw the doors wide open to such abuses as have developed in England, it has been suggested that partial unemployment be compensated only to the extent that the wage loss exceeds a stated percentage which is slightly higher than the percentage of the wage paid as compensation for total unemployment (i.e., if the compensation rate is 50 per cent of the average wage, only partial unemployment causing a wage loss in excess of, say, 40 per cent is compensated).

#### POOLED FUNDS VERSUS INDUSTRY AND PLANT ACCOUNTS

The most heated controversy which has developed in this entire field concerns individual industry versus plant accounts. In European unemployment insurance laws all contributions are placed in a central pooled fund, from which benefits are paid without regard to the employer for whom the unemployed person last worked. (It is to be noted, however, that in England the banking and insurance industries have separate funds and that in Belgium, while there is a central pooled fund, the contribution rates vary by industries in accordance with their respective unemployment rates.) In this country, most, but by no means all, of the advocates of unemployment compensation strongly favor pooled funds on the European model; many of them refuse to recognize plant funds or accounts as being insurance at all. On the other hand, most employers who know anything about the subject strongly favor separate plant funds, or "unemployment reserves" as distinguished from "unemployment insurance."

The employers' preference for unemployment reserves is based mainly upon two considerations: (1) their desire to deal directly with their employees, and (2) their strong feeling that they should not be asked to pay for some other employer's unemployment. The principal argument advanced for permitting employers to have such separate accounts is that when they must pay for their own unemployment they will keep unemployment down to the unavoidable minimum.



Organized labor, at first uncertain as to its preference, is now definitely committed in favor of pooled unemployment insurance funds. Its objections to separate plant funds are also twofold: (1) a belief that they are essentially "a company union device," inasmuch as they tie the employees closer to the company, and (2) a fear that many workmen will, under such a system, fail to receive benefits when unemployed, because the fund of their particular employer will have been exhausted.

It is difficult to appraise impartially these opposing claims because there has been little experience to test their validity. That the separate plant account system should furnish some incentive to reduce unemployment would seem unanswerable, but how effective this will prove, no one can be certain. How much employers can do to stabilize their employment will vary in different industries and, manifestly, many causes of unemployment are beyond the control of the individual employer. The relatively small number of employers in this country who have voluntarily set up unemployment reserve systems, on the whole, have not done anything so very striking in stabilizing employment, although some of them have a fine record in this respect. There is much reason to believe that what employers can do most effectively to keep down their unemployment compensation costs under a plant account system is not stabilization of their employment but distribution of available work among all of their employees, when slack times come. But upon this point also the evidence from actual experience is scanty.

Opponents of individual industry and plant accounts say that this is a system which attempts to differentiate between good and bad employers and to reward those who have a stable employment record. Besides this, however, there also is the factor that the risk of unemployment differs greatly between industries. Industries like building construction, coal mining, and the capital goods industries generally have much more unemployment than, for instance, retail trade, public utilities, and the consumer goods industries. In all other lines of insurance there is some attempt to adjust the rates to the risk, and this seems but equitable also in unemployment insurance. Such an adaptation of the rates to the inherent risk is possible under a pooled state fund system but not automatic, as under a

system in which each employer bears the costs of his own unemployment. That a plant account is of advantage to employers with better than average stability of employment is obvious. But what of the employees? Clearly an individual account system is disadvantageous to the employee when he leaves one establishment to enter the employ of another unless he can take his unused benefit rights with him, which is difficult to work out. The most serious question of all, however, concerns the danger of the inadequacy of many plant funds. A single establishment cannot have the advantages of average exposure, which is fundamental in all true insurance. Under a system, such as has been set up in Wisconsin, where each employer, however small, has his own account, it seems certain that many of these accounts will be exhausted when their employees most need protection. Of course, pooled state funds may also be exhausted, and if such funds become insolvent all employees in the state will suffer, while under the plant account system some employers, at least, will be able to meet fully all obligations. If plant accounts are allowed only to employers who furnish adequate security to guarantee payment of all promised benefits, all arguments directed against such individual accounts on the score of the inadequacy of the protection afforded would seem to be completely answered. There would still remain, however, the fact that the employers permitted to have such accounts would probably be the ones having less than average unemployment and their withdrawal from the central pooled fund would lessen its chances of remaining solvent.

Unemployment reserves, as distinguished from unemployment insurance, were advocated by champions of unemployment compensation when the British unemployment insurance system was generally believed in this country to be a failure. Now that the British system is regarded as a great success, sentiment has swung very strongly in favor of pooled state funds, although most employers continue to favor reserves systems. The question has become whether any state should be permitted to establish a plant account system of unemployment compensation or allow any establishments or industries to contract out of the central pooled funds.

The Wagner-Lewis bill of the Seventy-third Congress permitted states complete free choice in these matters. The Committee on Economic Security and the pending economic security bill permit states to set up an individual plant account system of the Wisconsin type, or to allow "contracting out" from pooled funds, or variations in the rates of contributions to pooled funds, but only under drastic restrictions. In all such cases the employers given such privileges must pay at least 1 per cent of their pay-roll into the pooled state fund and they cannot reduce the contributions credited to their own accounts until they have built up reserves of at least 15 per cent of their pay-roll (which few of them will be able to do in less than ten years). These provisions are of a compromise character and have been assailed, on the one hand, because they do not definitely outlaw plant funds and, on the other, because the restrictions are so drastic that employers will lack all incentive to reduce unemployment.

#### GUARANTEED EMPLOYMENT

Raising some of the same questions which are involved in plant accounts are the contractual arrangements between employers and employees known as "guaranteed employment." In such arrangements employers contract to furnish their employees a specified number of weeks of employment during the year and can legally be held for payment of the full wages for the guaranteed amount of work. Such contracts are quite common in England and have been experimented with in a number of voluntary unemployment compensation plans in this country and under the Wisconsin law. Persons interested in continuing these experiments demand that the federal act recognize such guaranteed employment contracts and exempt the employers from making any contributions to central unemployment compensation funds for any employees thus protected.

Guaranteed employment is clearly of advantage to the employees if they are guaranteed sufficient work to give them larger earnings than they would probably get without such a guaranty. Guaranteed employment, however, could also be used as a device to cheat employees out of their unemployment compensation rights. It is only when the guaranty covers most of the possible working period and

some provision is made for compensation to employees whose contracts are not renewed and who lose their jobs, that adequate safeguards are provided to make certain that guaranteed employment will truly benefit the employees.

#### ADMINISTRATION

The final major question arising in unemployment compensation concerns administration. On this subject there is no clash of interests between employers and employees, but a problem of keeping the administration as far removed from politics as possible.

The actual administration must be placed in the local employment offices. Only involuntary unemployment is to be compensated. World experience has demonstrated that the best way to test willingness to work is through requiring the unemployed workman to register at the nearest employment office and to keep constantly in touch with it. It is through the employment offices everywhere that unemployment compensation claims are passed upon in the first instance and benefits paid. To this end a nation-wide, efficient, public employment office service, as contemplated in the Wagner-Peyser act, is an absolute essential.

Besides the local employment offices there must be a central state office through which contributions are collected and at which records are kept. A procedure for the settlement of disputed claims is also essential. Advisory committees representative of employers and employees should prove very helpful.

In a co-operative federal-state system, there also must be a federal administrative agency. This federal agency must pass upon whether the state laws meet the prescribed requirements which entitle employers in these states to an offset against the federal pay-roll tax. It should also collect statistics upon unemployment experience throughout the country, so that rates may be established on a more scientific basis. It should assist the states in setting up unemployment compensation systems and in devising methods for dealing with such difficult problems as interstate transfer of employees and re-insurance.

Regarding the federal administrative agency the only serious question of policy is whether this should be an independent agency or

attached to the Department of Labor. Every argument would seem to favor the latter arrangement. Not only is there now strong sentiment against the creation of any additional permanent independent federal agencies, but the administration of unemployment compensation is so inextricably interwoven with that of the employment offices that the United States Employment Service would have to be transferred from the Department of Labor to this agency. As the Department of Labor is the smallest of the cabinet departments, any such step would be most illogical; moreover, unemployment compensation is clearly a labor problem.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

## JULIA LATHROP AND OUTDOOR RELIEF IN CHICAGO, 1893-94

JANE ADDAMS

IT WAS during the winter of panic in 1893-94 that I first saw fully revealed Julia Lathrop's profound compassion for her helpless fellow-men and her sense of responsibility for basic human needs, which afforded so much of the driving-power back of her splendid abilities. In our first impact with dire poverty, both with working people who suddenly found themselves without work and their savings exhausted as well as with the poor who, always on the edge of pauperism, at last found themselves pushed into the black abyss, we learned during that dreadful winter following the Chicago World's Fair, that when all else fails and private funds are exhausted, the county is under legal obligation to care for the poor. Julia Lathrop long before spring became a volunteer visitor in the county agent's office and was assigned for duty to the ten blocks surrounding Hull-House. Day by day she climbed rickety stairs and visited damp basements (for tenement-house regulations at that moment were practically non-existent), seeing those who applied to the county for relief. Her first experience with the situation in that district and through the county institutions is best told in her own words. The following extracts are from her chapter on "The Cook County Charities" published in *Hull-House Maps and Papers*<sup>1</sup> in 1895.

The most spectacular proof of the poverty entailed upon Chicago by the general business depression of 1893, and locally by the inevitable human *débris* left by the World's Fair, could be daily seen during all the severer months of the winter of 1893 and 1894. It was a solid, pressing crowd of hundreds of shabby men and shawled or hooded women, coming from all parts of a great city whose area is over one hundred and eighty six square miles, standing hour after hour with market baskets high above their heads, held in check by policemen, poly-

<sup>1</sup> This book, one of the series "Library of Economics and Politics," edited by Richard T. Ely, of the University of Wisconsin, is now out of print. The "maps" were made from material collected at Hull-House by Florence Kelley, who was in charge for Chicago of the "slum investigation" made by the U.S. Bureau of Labor; the papers were written by residents of Hull-House.

glot but having the common language of their persistency, their weariness, their chill and hunger. This crowd stood daily, unsheltered from the weather, before 130 South Clinton Street. Now and again a woman was crushed—in one instance it is reported was killed and the ambulance was called to take her away. Once a case of smallpox was discovered and a sign hung out and the office closed for a day or two, but this did not frighten away the crowd outside. It only served to give the clerks inside a little chance to get their work up. When once the applicant penetrates the office, he is in the great dingy waiting room of the Cook County Agency from whence is dispensed outdoor relief. He furnishes his name and address and is called upon later by a paid visitor upon whose report the fuel and ration are allowed or refused. Or, if the application has been granted, the market basket discloses its *raison d'être*, and the allowance of food and one bar of hard soap is carried hence, the coal being sent later from the contractor.

It is hard to go to the infirmary, hard to get relief from the county, but it is esteemed hardest of all to be buried by the county. The abhorrence of a pauper burial cannot be better indicated than by the fact that of the 607 inmates who died at Dunning in 1893 the funerals of 251 were provided by friends. Indeed the one general effort at saving in this district is that sorry speculation in futures called burial-insurance. Of course there are numberless lapses on the policies which make the business profitable. The dread of pauper burial is two-fold. First, the lack of religious ceremony and secondly, the loss of a great social function far exceeding in magnificence a wedding or a christening. The necessary cost of sickness and death is vastly increased by absolutely unnecessary items on the undertaker's bill. It is the hope of this anticipated pageantry which makes the burial-insurance collector a constant figure, threading in and out among the tenements and collecting his weekly premiums. "And to think," exclaimed a mother in a spasm of baffled prudence and grief, "that this child I've lost was the only one that wasn't insured!"

There is a constant criticism of the county relief office from the recipient's point of view. He says the coal is delivered slowly and in scant measure, that favoritism is shown by visitors, that burials are tardy and cruel; and the facts justify him. . . .

There is doubtless a certain satisfaction to the philanthropist and sociologist alike in having touched bottom, reached ultimate facts, and this in a sense we have done when we have reached the county institutions. These are the infirmary, the insane asylum, the hospital, the detention hospital, and the county agency.

She describes in detail the inmates in the huge county institutions, the hospital wards into which the doctors were not permitted to bring students for instruction but where the word of the newest and rawest medical graduate might reign supreme. She describes "ward 3-b



with beds crowded together, others laid upon the floor and filled with a melancholy company of feeble and bed-ridden men and idiot children. It must haunt the memory of whoever has seen it." But what distressed Julia Lathrop most about the Cook County Infirmary was the regulation which separated an old couple into the men's side and the women's side. It allowed them to see each other once a week with the heavy netting of a screen between them through which, if not too deaf to hear or too feeble to shout, they might communicate with each other for half an hour. When it became her duty as county visitor to send an old couple into the poorhouse, she found the situation almost intolerable. This was, of course, before the days of old-age pensions; and those responsible for "charities and corrections" were so afraid of "outdoor relief" that it was considered iniquitous to care for such couples in their own homes because county funds could more cheaply care for them in the poorhouse. Such a state of mind affords one more example of the danger of administering any human situation upon theory uncorrected by constant experience.

She reports one spot in these huge institutions as follows:

There is a chapel in which a kindly old Catholic priest and various Protestant clergymen officiate. The solemn little room is always open, and after the early winter supper old people clamber painfully upstairs to say their evening prayers before its altar. For one instant the visitor is hushed as he stands before the door watching the straggling little procession of human wastage entering the dim apartment, and feels a thrill of thankfulness that these poor evidences of defeat and failure cherish a belief in some divine accounting more individual and generous than that of the sociologist and statistician.

And yet the Cook County Infirmary itself had its moments of quiet humor and even of boisterous mirth, perhaps in response to "that puzzling thing about life that cheerfulness will break in." One story about the Infirmary I remember in connection with Julia Lathrop's pleasure when she once found, in a down-state county poorhouse, an old man wearing his shoes lying on his bed. The manager who was showing her around said, "William, William, you will do it!" She was delighted, because at that moment in the Cook County Infirmary none of the inmates, however feeble and worn out they might be, were allowed to lie down on their clean and tidy beds in the daytime, and she remarked how much better it was for Wil-

liam than to be the possessor of a fine bed which was not to be used except at stated hours. She recalled the story of an old man in the hospital ward of an infirmary who, during his long weeks in bed, constantly insisted upon sticking his feet "into the open air," as he said. This became a subject of prolonged warfare between him and the nurse in charge of the ward, who considered it her duty to break up the perverse habit. When at last he was dying in the little room of the infirmary reserved for those who had reached the end of the road, with all the members of his family gathered impressively around his bed, his old enemy the nurse with great solemnity softly opened the door. The dying man turned his eyes upon her, made one final desperate effort, and defiantly stuck his feet out of bed "into the open air," confident that she could not reprove him then, for not only was his family standing guard but Death itself was majestically protecting him from all pettiness.

She encountered in the county institutions what she so often found afterward in the state, the need for better civil service regulation. With her fine sense of fairness she says:

The remarkable thing with our present system of appointments is not that abuses occur but that more do not occur. It gives one after all a new confidence in human nature that the demands of helplessness and insanity develop in unpromising material such excellent qualities of patience and self-control as are sometimes shown.

She ends the chapter however with this plea:

Yet all these activities unfortunately are considered primarily only as furnishing certain "places" to be filled by political preferment. The comfort, the recovery, the lives of all these thousands of dependent people hang upon the knowledge, the kindness, the honesty, the good faith of those hired to care for them. How are these people hired,—in the open labor market, for fitness, by examination? Not even an Altrurian would waste words on such a question. These places are scheduled with the salaries attached, and each Commissioner disposes of his share of the patronage. Commissioners are not responsible for this method; it is not unlawful and it is convenient for them. They act from the pressure of public opinion translatable into votes and modify their actions according to the strength of such pressure. How many persons in the city of Chicago whose income make them safe from the possibility of a personal interest in these places ever visit them or perhaps know where they are? More, how many of them realize that their visits, their intelligent interest are all that is necessary to make these institutions give really good service? There is no maladministration so

strong that it can persist in the face of public knowledge and attention. The public now has and will have exactly such institutions as it demands, managed exactly as its discrimination requires. It is as tiresome as that Carthage must be destroyed but it is as true, that the charities of Cook County will never properly perform their duties until politics are divorced from them.

I find it very touching that almost forty years later, after Julia Lathrop's long experience in administrative offices, she made the following statement in a speech delivered in the very last year of her life:

We are still indifferent to the quality of public service. A merit system of appointments is evaded whenever and wherever possible. Yet a merit system means only some effective method of securing competent honest public servants, such methods as any successful administration of private business must employ.

Public business has vastly increased in scope since the first civil service laws were written in the United States fifty years or so ago. The present juncture with the growing tendency to enact social legislation is crucial in its need of a new public conscience as to Public Administration.

Even in the very first years of Hull-House we began to discover that our activities were gradually extending from the settlement to a participation in city and national undertakings. We found that our neighborhood playground, the very first in Chicago, was not secure until it became part of a system covering the whole city; better housing was as dependent upon rapid transit as upon a good tenement-house code, for which we had worked against many obstacles through the City Homes Association. When we saw a certain depressed district a little to the north of Hull-House disappear as if by magic because the people could move west with a cheaper street-car fare to carry them back to work, Julia Lathrop said dryly that we were like the dress-reformers who for years had in vain advocated short skirts for women and then saw the bicycle come in and actually accomplish the change in one season!

A thousand times during that panic winter Julia Lathrop saw that much more was needed than the county was fitted to supply; and although she was a faithful county visitor, meticulously observing the hours and rules all the more carefully because she was a volunteer, she did other things as well. Realizing that the efforts must be city-wide and inclusive of many people, she actually revived an interest in the Charity Organization Society, which had experienced

such hard sledding in Chicago, and started the movement all over again in a little office not many blocks from Hull-House. In describing the general district, Julia Lathrop wrote:

There is an overwhelming proportion of foreigners and an average wage-rate so low as to render thrift, even if it existed, an ineffective insurance against emergencies. . . . We are led at once to inquire what happens when the power of self-help is lost.

This immediate district contains on its western side the least adaptable of the foreign populations and reaches over on the east to a territory where the destructive distillation of modern life leaves waste products to be cared for inevitably by some agency from the outside. The preponderance of unskilled labor necessarily means the weakness of trade unions and mutual benefit societies, in short, the inability to organize and cooperate. When we inquire then what provision is made to meet sickness, accident, non-employment, old age and that inevitable accident, death, we are asking what some outside agency performs. Here is a foreign population living in every sort of maladjustment—rural Italians in shambling wooden tenements, Russian Jews whose two main resources are tailoring and peddling, quite incapable generally of applying themselves to severe manual labor or skilled trades and hopelessly unemployed in hard times; here are Germans and Irish largely of that type which is reduced by drink to a squalor it is otherwise far above. Here amongst all save the Italians flourishes the masculine expediency of temporary disappearance in the face of non-employment or domestic complexity or both; paradoxically enough the intermittent husband is a constant factor in the economic problem of many a household. In this region west of the river and stretching on into the seventh, eighth and eighteenth wards, there are many streets where foreign tongues are more spoken than English, thousands of people who having their own shops and churches and theaters and saloons may be said hardly to come in touch with the commonwealth of which some immigration company has made them an unconscious part until they are given over as the wards of its charity.

In the midst of this district a young man, who came to live at Hull-House from an eastern city where the charity organization society had already been successfully established, opened an office with the backing of a group of trustees assembled by Julia Lathrop. It was a difficult performance; and although long before spring the main office of the new undertaking had been moved downtown with three branch offices, of which the parent office was one, it was years before the more advanced method of administering charity was established in Chicago and developed into the present satisfactory United Charities. In the efforts to effect this reorganization I recall an incident which I hope will reveal Julia Lathrop's methods. At one

particular meeting we had felt our plans for what we considered a better type of organization estopped, as it were, by the complacency of the upholders of the existing Relief and Aid Society, which had been active ever since the administration of the Chicago Fire Fund in 1872. In a closing speech I had told the story of Boston, whose charities were so thoroughly organized that if a three-quarters orphan were discovered today, tomorrow Boston would found a society for the care of three-quarters orphans. I added that, if a three-quarters orphan were discovered in Chicago today, tomorrow the Relief and Aid Society would assert that they had taken excellent care of all the three-quarters orphans ever since the fire. Julia Lathrop gave me a queer look as I sat down beside her, and later I begged her to tell me what was the matter with my poor little story. "Nothing was the matter with the story," she replied. "It was a fine story, and at least half the audience enjoyed it immensely; but I was afraid that you told it to relieve your own mind. You certainly did not expect it to convert the Relief and Aid people to our point of view." She looked at me with quizzical affection, and added, "Inner irritation is so hard to suppress that an audience can detect it even in a joke."

It was probably one of the same meetings at which the speakers were introduced by an eloquent chairman who presented us in such charming and flowery phrases as could only be applied to the most beneficent of ladies bountiful. He of course secured his applause; but afterward Julia Lathrop dryly remarked, "It is not very complimentary to either of us, J. A.; but I am afraid that it is a true word that we are the more highly praised in proportion as we are misunderstood."

It was in connection with the first Charity Organization Society office that an incident occurred which could not but deepen Julia Lathrop's keen sense of responsibility for the disturbed and aberrated mind. The young man who came as an expert from the East disappeared from Hull-House one evening when he had gone out to post a letter. For weeks and months every effort to find him on the part of the police, his family, and his Chicago friends proved utterly unavailing. The newspapers were inclined to imply dishonesty in regard to the funds of the "new-fangled charity," with which they had little sympathy; but as his accounts were found in perfect order, the

charge was completely dropped. His disappearance was due to one of those strange cases of loss of a sense of identity, and he was not heard from for thirty-five years, when he wrote to his brother from a western state where he had been living under another name which he did not know how he had acquired. His mind apparently had turned back to his early training in a theological seminary, and for most of the thirty-five years he had been a successful clergyman. Neither his wife nor his parishioners had ever suspected any other personality than the one they knew. The very next year he came to see me when I was spending a few weeks on the coast. There was no doubt that he was the same man I had known so long ago, although after much difficulty he had finally decided to keep to the second personality as the course which would be least disturbing to him and his community. He died soon afterward, tormented to the end by double identity. During the many weeks after his disappearance, however, when the desperate search was being made, Julia Lathrop as the chairman of his board of trustees felt a special sense of responsibility; and when we learned from his family of his having experienced loss of identity twice before for short periods, we were driven to the conclusion that such an amnesia had occurred again.

I venture to record the incident because of its effect on Julia Lathrop, who only a few weeks later was appointed by the governor a member of the Illinois Board of Charities, the board which was responsible for the hospitals for the insane throughout the state.

I recall a long conversation I once had with her during a charming drive down the Rock River from Rockford to the little town of Grand Detour—a drive associated with such unwonted leisure and charm that I remember it vividly. It must have been taken during the sessions of the Hull-House summer school at Rockford College, for we talked of our Chicago neighbors, some of whom had bought their land from Mr. Hull as early as 1845 and had every right to be called Illinois pioneers. Julia Lathrop drove a horse very well, but the journey to Grand Detour necessarily occupied most of the day and we had plenty of time to discuss many things. We had visited a large stone mill built by my mother's father, Colonel George Weber, in the nearby village of Como. It was still standing then, although long abandoned as a mill. I told the story, as I had once heard it,

that after the huge mill was erected and the farmers brought their wheat from all directions, the owner discovered that there was no market for the flour. The bran was more easily taken care of, for it was often thrown into the Rock River and merrily floated its way to the Mississippi; but the "haul" to deliver the flour either in Chicago or Galena, the two possibilities, was far too long and the railroads had not yet arrived. Colonel Weber, who had had a mill in the Lehigh Valley in Pennsylvania, where he was considered a successful business man, was apparently not able to envisage the conditions in the state of Illinois in the 1840's. After all, why did pioneer Americans feel so superior to pioneer immigrants? Colonel Weber's lack of understanding of the changed situation between Pennsylvania and Illinois was similar to the immigrants' ignorance of the differences between Naples and Chicago, between Bohemia and Iowa; and yet the immigrants living all about Hull-House knew little of the difficulties encountered by American pioneers although their own difficulties in a new country loomed so large.

Julia Lathrop recalled with some amusement that on a Hull-House celebration of Lincoln's birthday I had said that Lincoln's greatness consisted largely in the fact that he never forgot, when he moved to Illinois, how the people in Kentucky thought and felt; that when he moved to Washington, "the man he knew down in Sangamon County" never failed to instruct and often to guide the Lincoln who was president of his country. Of course, it was obvious that I wanted the boys and girls to appreciate and understand their parents, and did not wish them to feel that when they went from our neighborhood to college or to any other place that they were going into a different world. She said that it was good for the young people, and she hoped that I would continue to say it every Lincoln's birthday, but that the theme ought to be very much enlarged and supplemented to become really intelligible to the children of immigrants. We talked quite seriously of what we might do some day with the traditions of northern Illinois and the life of the pioneers there, so essentially like pioneer experiences in every part of the world, that we might demonstrate that an outdoor peasant from Italy or Poland might find it quite as hard to give up his self-directed activities for the mechanical work in a factory as an American boy



found it to exchange his farm work for riveting a small wheel into a watch, as many of them were doing that summer in the watch factory we had left in Rockford and in the watch factory lying ahead of us at Elgin. The immigrants also had cherished their independence and grown restive under the conditions that made them interchangeable units in a great industry. We decided, at any rate, to try it together. Needless to say, we never carried out our intentions; but I learned once for all that the reason Julia Lathrop understood people so well, and estimated their differing needs as a genuine statesman would do, was because she put her mind to it and gave a problem her entire attention.

It may have been partly the result of this talk that at the next old-settlers' meeting at Hull-House she gave a stirring address on the founding and development of Rockford as typical of early Illinois. One of her listeners was an old man who had spent his entire life as a sailor on the Great Lakes and could not get through twenty-four hours at a stretch without walking a full mile down to the lake shore in order "to look at the water." He was growing feeble; and his wife, fearful that his waning strength would not hold out to bring him home each day, was very unhappy about the habit and for years had never omitted her daily scolding on the subject. But that day, as they sat side by side in the old-settlers' meeting listening to Julia Lathrop, the exasperated wife had perhaps her first glimmering of his motive; and he forgot his Americanism sufficiently to say, "I can understand how them foreigners might feel about giving up everything they had been used to all their lives, just as we do." Julia Lathrop had made human, not only the pioneers, but their successors as well. She was anxious that people should not forget the past, but she did not want that past limited to their own narrow tradition of one class or nation. On the other hand, the settlements believed that Americans could best understand the immigrants through free association and the discussion of common problems. We stuck to this at some cost, for such discussions often evoked strange preconceived opinions and untoward experiences.

HULL-HOUSE  
CHICAGO

EVICTIONS DURING THE CHICAGO RENT  
MORATORIUM ESTABLISHED BY THE  
RELIEF AGENCIES, 1931-33<sup>1</sup>

EDITH ABBOTT AND KATHERINE KIESLING

THE eviction of families from their homes by legal process for non-payment of rent became a not infrequent occurrence in Chicago, as in other large cities, during the depression period. This was, of course, one of the effects of the period of prolonged unemployment and the loss of financial resources of all kinds; but along with these causes went the extraordinary policy of the family welfare agencies regarding rents.

An action in forcible entry and detainer is one phase of the law regulating the relationship of landlord and tenant; and the legal procedure necessary to eviction is dealt with in Chicago in one of the specialized branches of the Municipal Court, the so-called "Renters' Court."<sup>1a</sup> During the second summer after the depression,<sup>2</sup> the non-payment of rents in Chicago had become so widespread that landlords in all parts of the city were trying, by means of evictions and threatened evictions, to force their tenants to pay the accumulating arrears, or at least their current, if not their overdue, rents.

<sup>1</sup> A chapter from a forthcoming book on *The Tenements of Chicago* to be published in June by the University of Chicago Press.

<sup>1a</sup> This Court of Forcible Entry and Detainer, being a civil rather than a criminal court, had not been regarded as especially in need of a social service department until the eviction difficulties that appeared in connection with the economic crisis. In the summer of 1931, the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago was asked to help in the emergency that had developed in the Renters' Court. Social service problems arising in the Renters' Court seemed to be adequately cared for in normal times by the Legal Aid Society whenever the client was financially unable to procure other counsel. With the great increase in unemployment and the increase in the number of dependent families, the question of non-payment of rent, evictions, and rehousing became extremely acute, and the problem of evictions assumed such distressing proportions that two of the Leila Houghteling Fellows of the School were assigned to the Court for field work service in order to help some of the bewildered and frightened families. A social service department was established in the Renters' Court before the end of the year.

<sup>2</sup> In the summer of 1931.

In the summer of 1931 the Renters' Court had become a center of new activity. The first of a series of what came to be called "rent riots" also occurred in August, 1931. A crowd of something like two thousand people gathered in the center of a large Negro area on the South Side of the city to prevent the eviction of a destitute Negro family. When two Municipal Court bailiffs arrived, accompanied by a real estate agent, and moved the possessions of the evicted tenant into the street, the news spread rapidly, rioters gathered, and the household goods were moved back into the flat during disorderly proceedings in which three rioters were shot and killed, and three policemen and a fourth rioter seriously injured. The next day, a Chicago newspaper announced that there would be a policy of "firmness in dealing with communistic eviction disorders." But the bailiff of the Municipal Court agreed to withhold further service of eviction warrants until the mayor of Chicago returned to the city and arrangements could be made for "every humane consideration to be given the hundreds of penniless families."<sup>3</sup> A Chicago newspaper announcement said that "promise of aid had been received from various charitable organizations"; and hope was expressed that some mysterious "fund" which the mayor was supposed to be able to produce from some mysterious source would in some mysterious way prevent further eviction difficulties.

At the so-called "Riot Inquest," a police lieutenant gave testimony which showed that evictions had been going on for some time, and that the recent riot had merely called public attention to the serious effect of the depression on the question of housing and the widespread inability to pay rents. It was as if a riot had been necessary before the unfortunate victims of the depression could get any promises of relief; and even these promises soon vanished. There had evidently been a good deal of unrest for some time. The lieutenant testified that "in the last few weeks bailiffs serving eviction notices had encountered hostility, but on the arrival of a few policemen the crowd had invariably dispersed quietly."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 4-5, 1931. It was charged that this "riot" had its origin in a communist meeting which was in progress in a nearby park at the time when the eviction proceedings began.

<sup>4</sup> See *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 6, 1931. The early attempts on the part of

The non-payment of rents went from bad to worse because no amount of pressure by landlords could make destitute families pay their rents when they needed their small remaining savings to buy food for their children. Appeals to relief agencies for help of all kinds became continually more urgent. The relief rolls in Chicago had not shown the seasonal falling-off that had been expected during the summer months of 1931, and the number of new applicants increased rapidly in the early autumn and still more rapidly as the cold weather came on. A large emergency relief fund had been raised by public subscription;<sup>5</sup> but the relief demands, which increased so alarmingly, represented such genuine need that the emergency fund was rapidly disappearing and there were grave fears that all relief funds might soon be exhausted.

A temporary "no-rent" policy as a way of meeting the threatened emergency was formally adopted by the various relief agencies in Chicago before the end of December, 1931, as the only way of meeting the acute situation that seemed to be developing. This policy was of course dictated by the great increase in the number of families who were day by day forced to resort to the relief offices for such necessities as food and fuel as well as rent. Very large additional relief funds were needed, and such funds could no longer be raised locally but could come only from the state government or the federal government. But the outlook for adequate state funds was not good; and there was at this time great reluctance on the part of the more conservative groups in the community to ask for federal funds. The federal administration then in Washington was known to be opposed to federal relief funds on the ground that a federal relief sys-

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landlords to maintain payment of rents by means of eviction is undoubtedly due in part to the fact pointed out in the Philadelphia study, *No Money for Rent: A Study of the Rental Problem of Unemployment Relief Families and Their Landlords*, by Ewan Clague (Publication No. 6 [October, 1933], Joint Committee on Research of the Community Council of Philadelphia and the Pennsylvania School of Social Work) that the landlord, in putting pressure on a family, is influenced in part, "by the thought which seems to be widely held among real estate agents that the failure of one family to pay reacts upon other families which are perfectly able to do so" (p. 60).

<sup>5</sup> This was the second large "emergency fund" raised in Chicago by a public "drive." The first "drive" in 1930-31 had raised approximately \$4,000,000, and the second \$12,000,000. See this *Review*, VI, 270-79, "Chicago Relief Statistics, 1928-31," by C. M. Brandenburg.

tem would be the beginning, in America, of the English system popularly miscalled "the dole."

Administration supporters and some very respected board members of the various agencies were alike reluctant to believe that a prolonged period of depression was in prospect which would make federal relief necessary. Faced with the almost bewildering rapidity with which relief funds were disappearing, it became clear in the early winter that rigorous methods of conserving relief funds must be adopted. The line of least resistance seemed to be a no-rent policy, with a vague hope that it might be only temporary.

Immediately after the Christmas holidays, news of the "rent moratorium" that had been decreed for the destitute tenement families, but not accepted by the tenement landlords, spread rapidly. New and conspicuous signs appeared on the walls of the widely scattered district offices of the relief agencies bearing the legends: "We Do Not Pay Rents." "Please Do Not Ask Us To Pay Rent."

Early in January, 1932, the judge sitting in the Renters' Court called a meeting of representatives of the relief agencies and of the landlords<sup>6</sup> in the hope that some acceptable compromise might be reached between the two groups. A representative of the landlords demanded that *some* rents be paid, explaining that when one month's rent was paid for a family, the landlord would try to carry the family along for three or four months. It was further urged by the landlords that shelter was as necessary as food in an emergency budget. But the relief agencies maintained their position on the ground that their funds were fast being depleted, that food and fuel were much more essential than rent, and that these most necessary budget items could be provided only if rents were not paid. The two sides could come to no agreement, and no definite action was taken. The judge urged the landlords to be as humane as possible, and the meeting came to a futile end.

Chicago was not alone in her adoption of the "rent moratorium" for relief families. Many of the leading "family welfare societies" in different cities began to pay rents only if eviction were imminent,

<sup>6</sup> In addition to the representatives of the two groups named above, there were also present at this meeting the Chief Justice of the Municipal Court, the clerk of the Court, the bailiff, and the director of social work in the Municipal Court.

or if the need were not primarily caused by unemployment.<sup>7</sup> In the great cities, particularly in Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland,<sup>8</sup> and New York, a no-rent or "eviction-rent" policy was adopted.<sup>9</sup> In Philadelphia, where great suffering was caused by the suspension of relief, for nearly two months in the summer of 1932, because of the exhaustion of private and state relief funds, the State Emergency Relief Board did not include rent among the items that the County Relief Board was allowed to pay.<sup>10</sup> Few rents were paid by relief agencies in Chicago during the months of January and February, 1932. Occasionally, when a family was actually evicted, it became necessary to make an exception; but such exceptions were rare. Beginning in March, when state funds became available, occasional rents were paid for certain families on relief; but the percentage of the relief funds that went for this item in the budget remained very small indeed. Although the State Relief Commission specifically named<sup>11</sup> shelter as one of the forms of relief that might be provided from Commission funds and added that, whenever possible, the home must be kept intact, as a matter of fact the payment of rents from state funds was allowed only in cases where eviction was imminent;<sup>12</sup> and the relief agencies, public and private, continued to

<sup>7</sup> See the report of an investigation by the Department of Special Studies of the Family Welfare Association of America, Margaret Wead, "When the Rent Comes 'Round," *Family*, XII (February, 1932), 313-17.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, a Cleveland dispatch in the *New York Times*, September 8, 1933, reporting that the local Realty Owners' Association had decided to evict 2,500 indigent families occupying property owned by members of the Association. The dispatch also said: "The State Relief Commission today authorized liberalization of cash payments to landlords of charity tenants, in addition to tax rebates allowed by statute; but it was declared in behalf of the Realty Owners' Association that this would not check the eviction order."

<sup>9</sup> Similar difficulties were apparently not unknown in England (see, for example, Irene T. Barclay, "This Rent Question," *New Statesman and Nation*, II [December 5, 1931], 707-8). In this case the chairman of the Public Assistance (relief) Committee censured an unemployed man because he had paid his rent while he was drawing "unemployment insurance benefit." The chairman is reported to have said: "You shouldn't pay rent when you are on the dole. The money is meant for food and clothing."

<sup>10</sup> See Philadelphia study (*No Money for Rent*), p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> In the "Rules for Local Administration of Unemployment Relief," put out by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission.

<sup>12</sup> A communication dated April 18, 1932, directed to the secretary of the Joint

refuse to pay rents. The general policy was that no rent whatever was to be paid except when a family had been, or was about to be, evicted. Then one month's rent<sup>13</sup> would be paid for a new flat. The purpose of this policy was plainly that of protecting relief funds from being too rapidly depleted.

The continued increase in the number of families on the relief rolls, and the very large funds required, led the emergency relief organizations and, in fact, all relief societies to continue their no-rent, delayed-rent, and occasional-rent policies through the year 1932 and the first half of the year 1933. In general, no rent was paid until a family received its writ of restitution.<sup>14</sup> Even then, the head

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Emergency Relief Fund of Cook County and the director of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, and signed by the executive secretary of the Illinois Emergency Commission, approved the following suggestions for modifying the rent policy:

"(1) That in instances where there is no income that may be used for the payment of rents, there shall be no general policy of meeting the rentals but that individual decisions will govern each case, and consideration shall be given the various factors bearing upon a decision in the case, including such as (a) number of months of rent unpaid; (b) suitability of housing, and the amount of rent involved which would include a decision regarding the economy of moving or paying of rent in present quarters; (c) the efforts on the part of the case worker to obtain a postponement, concession, or rent reduction from the landlord, and upon the following conditions:

"(a) That no publicity be given to any change of policy with respect to payment of rents.

"(b) That in applying the above procedure to specific instances the greatest care shall be exercised in the treatment of each case to avoid abuses and to the end that the essential policy of not assuming rental obligations shall be maintained."

<sup>13</sup> This amount, however, was not to exceed \$20, and in some districts the maximum was \$15. The United Charities, the great private relief society, was able for a time in the spring, when their private funds were being supplemented by state funds, to move some evicted families into new flats with the promise that they would pay half the regular rent (this half usually amounting to \$15) for three months. After a month or two, however, when the end of the funds again approached, they were no longer able to continue this policy; and the end of the three-month period in some cases brought renewed complications.

<sup>14</sup> This writ is commonly referred to as "the twenty-four-hour notice," "the second court notice," or "the final notice." The writ of restitution is served by the bailiff on the tenant and informs him that he will be dispossessed within twenty-four hours. At any time following the service of this notice his furniture may be set on the street by the bailiffs. In order to have the bailiffs thus evict a family after the writ has been served, the landlord must deposit a required sum of money in the bailiff's office, the exact amount depending upon the size and location of the flat to be vacated, the amount of furniture to be set out, and so on. The landlord often pays the money at the time he



of the family about to be evicted was not given any money with which to pay a deposit on any flat that might be found. Instead, he was told to find a new flat and to return to the relief office with the address of the new location and with the name of the landlord. Then, and then only, was the man given the money for a month's rent. The clients of the relief agencies complained very bitterly about this policy.

While every effort was made to avoid actual evictions, the relief offices,<sup>15</sup> under the pressure of relief needs, more and more frequently waited until the eviction costs had been paid before the family were given funds to move into a new flat, if and when one could be found. Relief families came into the social service office at the Renters' Court every day insisting that the workers at the relief agency with whom they dealt told them to wait until they were "on the street" and that not until then could the relief office do anything for them about paying any rent. In a number of these cases that were followed up afterward, the families were actually evicted. But these evictions among the relief families were undoubtedly due to the difficulties under which the relief stations were working—the constantly recurring shortages of relief funds, the heavy "case loads" that made it impossible for the workers to know the dangers of impending evictions in all their families, the large number of untrained or inexperienced workers who were unable to act swiftly and wisely when evictions were threatened. Data assembled by the Renters' Court showed that in three months no fewer than 129 relief families had been "put on the street." This number was undoubtedly below the number of such families who were, in fact, evicted; for no reports regarding whether or not eviction actually occurred could be secured in a large number of other relief cases.

Because of the inadequate number of social workers on the staff,

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procures the writ. But he frequently waits a little while, hoping that the mere service of the writ may lead the family to move and that it will not be necessary for him to go to any further expense. Thus there may be a lapse of several days or even weeks after the service of the final writ before a family is actually evicted.

<sup>15</sup> The private agencies were in some instances able to be a little more generous in their practice, if not in their policy, than the public agencies, although they would assume no obligations to pay rent.

the relief agencies were unable to do anything to help families find new quarters except to pay the first month's rent when the new flat was found. In some cases in which the difficulties of finding a flat in a limited time were too great for a family, they moved back into their old flat after they had been evicted, and the head of the family was then brought into court on a disorderly conduct charge.

The relief rent moratorium, which continued for approximately eighteen months, had some very serious consequences: (1) it was cruelly hard on the relief families, many of whom moved over and over again, with a growing discouragement that almost reached despair; (2) it was unfair to the landlords, who, with their incomes in many cases entirely cut off, were sometimes driven to the relief rolls themselves; (3) it led to such insanitary living arrangements that housing conditions became more and more deteriorated.

#### THE PLIGHT OF THE FAMILIES

First, the tenement rent moratorium led to almost incredible hardships among the unfortunate families on the relief rolls. The landlords were anxious to avoid the expense of evictions, but they felt that they could not continue to allow their buildings to be used indefinitely with no rents being paid while the buildings were steadily deteriorating under tenants without housekeeping resources. Their policy was to try to force the families who were in arrears to vacate the flat voluntarily, so that it would not be necessary for them to resort to the Renters' Court, and the necessary eviction costs. The landlords turned off the lights; they turned off the gas; and, if the house was furnace-heated, they turned off the heat in the winter; and, finally, they even turned off the water. Many cases of flats with the water shut off were reported from time to time.<sup>16</sup> The landlords became angry and terrified the miserable tenants by scolding and threatening. Some landlords finally adopted the drastic method of trying to freeze the tenants out by removing the window

<sup>16</sup> This was, of course, contrary to the regulations of the Health Department, and the Department took the position that turning-off the water must not be used as a method of eviction. But in a single month in the spring of 1932 the Department investigated 135 cases in which the water had been shut off. Undoubtedly, there were many similar cases that did not come to their attention. This policy was said to have been "practically unheard of" before the rent moratorium.

frames. In this way a landlord really could get the families who could not pay rent to leave without his having to resort to eviction and eviction costs.

When a family had been evicted or was clearly on the point of eviction, the relief services would, as has been said, help the family to move and pay one month's rent in advance. That is, the policy of the relief offices was to pay one month's rent in advance only as an emergency method of keeping the family off the street, then the rent stopped again, and then the family was once more plunged into a state of rentless insecurity. No rent was to be paid unless the worker was convinced that the landlord really intended to proceed with eviction. A relief office might have 250 families for whom eviction was imminent, and to keep "one jump ahead" of the bailiff and the landlord called for the ability to estimate, very shrewdly, the landlord's next move. Did he intend to pay the eviction expenses and put the family out or was he merely threatening? And if he did intend to evict, how soon would he act? By a policy of shrewd guess work, the workers were supposed to save the relief funds from any unnecessary payment of rent on the one hand; and, on the other hand, the office must act promptly enough to prevent an actual physical eviction.

Gradually, families facing eviction proceedings began to have great difficulties in finding new accommodations in the extremely short time that often elapsed between eviction and the serving of the writ of restitution, and particularly after the costs had been paid. The landlords became more cautious and refused to accept tenants whom they suspected of being on the relief rolls, and as a precautionary measure, many of the landlords began asking for evidence that the new tenant was working. And, as proof that he could be depended upon to continue to pay his rent after the first month, the landlords asked for three months' back rent receipts from prospective tenants.

No landlord wanted to rent a flat to a tenant who was receiving relief from a social agency. A typical notation on the back of a case record at the Renters' Court reads: "Mrs. J. has been looking for a flat, but no one will let her have one because she has no money and they are afraid she is from the Charities and will pay only one

month's rent." Another: "Mrs. L. says it is hard to get a flat now; the landlords ask lots of questions."

One family had an even more unfortunate experience in this respect. The man had found a nice flat, and made definite arrangements with the landlady to take it. All the furniture was loaded on the truck and ready to start for the new flat, when the new landlady appeared. She had just received the check for the rent from the relief agency and with it a receipt that she was to sign and return to them; it was the first intimation she had had that her future tenant was being cared for by a relief agency. She was quite pleasant and friendly, but she was also very determined that the prospective tenant should not have her flat, all agreements to the contrary notwithstanding. She said she already had three "charity tenants" and simply could not afford to take in another. The unhappy prospective tenant finally persuaded her to let him move his family into the flat on the basis of the original agreement, by impressing her with the fact that he was to be transferred to the Veterans' Bureau the next day, and that he had been informed that the Veterans' Bureau paid rents regularly (as the Bureau did, in fact, at that time). She let him move in on the condition that he bring her a signed statement from the Veterans' Bureau or from some responsible person that she would get her rent regularly on the first of each month, or, in lieu of such a statement, that he would move out voluntarily on the first of the coming month. About three months later he was again in the Renters' Court.

Relief families hunting for new flats found it impossible to be straightforward and honorable in their dealings with their future landlords, and many of these families were greatly humiliated by their experiences, particularly because of the deceptions to which they thought it necessary to resort.<sup>17</sup> One woman, in great distress after a fruitless search for a flat, said bitterly, "They do not ask you *if* you are working; they ask you *where* you are working. This woman

<sup>17</sup> A meeting of officials of the Chicago Church Federation, ministers, and resident workers from the church neighborhood houses was held April 4, 1932, to inquire "into the effect of the measures for relief upon the moral standards of the people and their communities." This group reported that the "resort to lying, deception, fraud, and stealing is manifest in many cases where no provision is made for payment of rent."

had moved on court order four times in a single year. Like many others, she also said that the landlords were suspicious when the prospective tenant did not have any money to pay down on the flat, and when he had to move in the same day he engaged it.

One woman, who had been in the Renters' Court, said very frankly that it had been necessary to lie to the landlord in order to get into the new flat. She had told the landlord that her husband was working, although he had had no regular work for nearly three years and had had none at all for the past six months. A man, who had also been in the Renters' Court, said he had rented his new flat in the name of his sister, who was a nurse and working in a hospital. The man himself had been unemployed for two years, and he said that he knew the real estate company would not rent to anyone who was unemployed.<sup>18</sup>

One man, for example, who was at home alone with the children when the investigator called, explained that the first thing a man was asked when he was looking at a flat was: "Are you working?" Therefore his wife must do the flat-hunting, for as soon as he appeared in the middle of the day they immediately and quite properly suspected him of not working. In the few cases where the client had already selected a new flat, he rarely wished to confide the address to the investigator, for fear that in some roundabout way the knowledge might leak through to the new landlord that he was being put out for non-payment of rent. In one case, where the new flat was not to be ready for three or four days, the mother was in great anxiety lest they should be evicted before they could move. But she did not dare betray her anxiety to the new landlord; so she could do nothing to speed up the preparation of the new flat. "The landlords," she said, "now demand references, and they will not take people whose furniture has been set out on the street."

A family who had already moved from one home on court order found themselves again, only six months later, awaiting another writ of restitution in their new flat. The relief office had told the

<sup>18</sup> The investigator who cleared the bailiff's eviction list from the Renters' Court with the Social Service Exchange thought that an increase in the number of "no records" returned seemed to indicate that more people were renting under false names or under the names of relatives whose employment would bear investigation.

mother that only one month's rent would be paid for them when they got their writ; and the woman claimed that she had been told that when they found a new place they should not tell their prospective landlord that they were receiving relief. The woman was in despair about moving again and "inflicting" herself on another landlord. She told the investigator that she thought it was "positively underhanded" to move into a flat when you knew that you were not going to pay your rent but, on the contrary, you were "going to make the landlord pay to get you out."<sup>19</sup>

The situation of the relief families was described by the superintendent of the United Charities, who said: "If some of the families give their new landlords the impression that the relief agency is to pay for their rent, you can hardly blame them, because they are desperate and will do anything to get shelter." He went on to explain that the relief agencies did not, in any manner, "aid, or abet unemployed families in deluding their landlords in this manner."<sup>20</sup> However, by refusing to pay more than the one month's rent, the clients often felt that the agency had placed them in a position where they could only find shelter by "deluding" their landlords.

The continued anxiety in the relief family recurrently face to face with the specter of eviction, the fear that they might be homeless,

<sup>19</sup> The testimony in the report of the Chicago Church Federation, which has already been referred to, said: "Both the agencies and the clients by their practice refuse to recognize the obligation to pay rent regularly or to pay rent past due. The failure of relief agencies to provide some way for rent to be paid is destroying the sense of obligation that is essential to the maintenance of a society based on a business economy."

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, for October 6, 1932.

It is significant that the report of the Family Welfare Association of America, after the investigation of the rent situation which has already been referred to, felt that "the generally evasive attitude which some agencies have felt forced to adopt regarding rent is probably communicating itself to clients and may, if not safeguarded, seem to suggest that this is the only way the client also can meet the situation." They recognized, of course, that the attitudes of both client and agency were dictated by the exigencies of the emergency situation, but suggested that we probably "need to give more thought to the consequences of these attitudes." "Latent resentment," they observe, "toward those who are better off is always crystallized at a time of depression. Moreover, an irresponsible attitude toward the landlord by clients may easily extend itself to a more demanding attitude toward the agency and still further complicate the situation." There is also the influence of the practice on the attitude of the agency itself that cannot be overlooked (Margaret Wead, *op. cit.*).

the dread of being "on the street," and the general family demoralization that inevitably followed the tenement rent "moratorium" can scarcely be exaggerated. Take, for example, the family of eleven children, ranging in age from twenty years down to a few months, who had been in court the middle of June. The family had been given fifteen days in which to move, and by the middle of July were still waiting, expecting to see the bailiffs arrive at any moment. The father was in the Bridewell, and the entire responsibility fell on the mother and the older girls, who seemed to have no idea what they were going to do when the fatal moment arrived. The family was receiving relief but knew that the agency did not pay rents; no one had told them that they would receive another notice prior to their eviction. The landlord's lawyer had told them the week before that they had to be out by Sunday as another family was moving in; but no other family appeared on Sunday, nor had they as yet been "put on the street," as they had feared. One of the girls, however, finally was told to go down to the social service office at the Court to find out just what was going to happen to them and what they should do, when the tragic moment arrived and they were "on the street." She said, "You know you can't find flats for eleven children at a moment's notice!"

In another family visited, the mother was not well and from various causes, more or less connected with the family financial situation, was bordering on a nervous breakdown. Her husband was in the penitentiary; and she had the care of the two children, aged eleven and fourteen, who were at home, and her aged mother-in-law. She was very anxious about her two younger children, whom she had sent to relatives in another state to be cared for. An older daughter, unable to bear the chaotic situation at home any longer, had left for parts unknown a month or so before. This family had already moved by court order twice in the preceding nine months and was, at the same time of the visit, momentarily expecting a third eviction. This unhappy family appeared again in court for a fourth time, a few months later.

One family in the Renters' Court for a second time was waiting for their "writ" at the time of the investigator's visit. The situation had become so tense that the father had announced that if he did not



get a job within the next week (he was a carpenter and had not had a job for over two years) he was going to "clear out"; he "couldn't stand it any longer." The mother, who was panic-stricken at the thought of his leaving her and the three children, said, "I just don't know what has come over him; he was never like that before—you just can't reason with him any more!"

In another family visited after they had been in the Renters' Court the investigator talked with the distracted mother. Her husband was very ill, suffering from a prolonged and very serious malady; the boy of fourteen was seriously ill, probably dying; she had no light, she had no gas, she had no food; they were going to put her out on the street, and no one would help her; that was the burden of the lament that she repeated over and over again, bursting into uncontrolled weeping every few moments. She threatened again and again to turn on the gas and kill the whole family; later in the interview she threatened to smother the baby.

An effort was made to visit families about to be evicted, first, in an effort to help them, because it was feared that many of them might be friendless, and, second, to make sure that no family did, actually, spend the night on the street. It was reassuring to find that this tragedy happened very rarely indeed, so incredibly kind were the relatives, friends, and neighbors about helping those who were literally homeless. Perhaps it was because an eviction was a peculiarly appealing form of distress, that those who thought themselves utterly friendless and unknown, found, in what seemed the last extremity of distress, neighbors who would take them in for a night or so. When a family was absolutely destitute, or when their relatives had reached the last down step, or when they were on the relief list and were going to be evicted again, then some family almost always appeared who could "take them in." There were many illustrations of the old saying that "only the poor are kind to the poor, and those who have little give to those who have less."

These makeshift arrangements were often extremely uncomfortable for the families, and not infrequently involved either dividing the family up into several sections, each going to a different place, or meant extreme overcrowding. For example, a family who had been receiving relief for about a year and a half were facing their

second eviction in two and a half months. At the time of their previous eviction, their furniture had stood on the street two days; and the entire family, including four children, aged from four to eight, had stayed with friends. These friends had a five-room flat, and five children of their own, and were themselves receiving relief. This meant that thirteen human beings lived for those two days in five rooms. A widow who lived alone in a single room had offered to take the family of six all into her one room for the night, should they need temporary shelter following the present impending eviction.

Another family was unfortunately evicted during the period of their transfer from one agency to another. When they were in process of being transferred, there was a nine-day interval during which the two children stayed with one neighbor, the mother with a second, and the husband with a third, as none of their friends had room enough for the entire family. Their furniture stood loaded on a truck in the street all this time.

The story is told of a family who were evicted on Saturday morning. They were strangers in the neighborhood and appeared to have no friends to whom they could turn. They were not receiving relief; and at nightfall the husband and wife with their children were still on the sidewalk, a very desolate group with no hope of beds for the night. A neighboring landlady, who had a vacant flat in her building, took pity on them and established them in the vacant flat for the night, with the understanding that early Monday morning they would get the relief needed to rent a flat somewhere. But on the following Monday morning the relief agency refused to help on the ground that the family were already established in satisfactory living quarters and could remain there!

Some of the families who appeared more than once in the Renters' Court were visibly shaken by their experiences and attributed all the ills that befell them to the uncertainty of their housing problem. For example, one Renters' Court record was that of a man and his wife with six children under eight years of age, who were evicted in September, 1931, again in March, 1932, and were in court a third time in July, 1932. In the meantime, the children had had first measles and then scarlet fever, and the mother was convinced that their lowered vitality was due in part to their unstable life and in part to the poor sanitary condition of their basement flat.

When the visiting court worker found a family facing eviction with no plans made, apparently without resources, and with no relief agency having any responsibility, an effort was made to connect the family at once with the proper relief station.<sup>21</sup> An occasional relief family was found who had failed to notify the social worker whom they knew at the relief station that the "five-day notice" had been received. Sometimes this happened because the family failed to realize the seriousness of the situation. They could not believe that they would really be "put on the street." Sometimes, however, the head of the family found it almost impossible to see the particular social worker who had charge of his relief because of the rush of work in some of the offices.

The general situation with regard to overcrowding grew very serious. Many families lived in conditions that were really demoralizing. For example, there was the case of a father, mother, and nine children who were occupying three rooms; of a woman sleeping in the same bed with a married couple who are friends, and with the twelve-year-old daughter sleeping on a cot in the same room; of a blind mother with a married daughter and her husband, who had gradually lost their possessions and were using one bed, a three-quarters bed, in a small room although the daughter was ill. In another case a mother was living with her friends, and her three boys were sleeping in cars in the garage. A man and his wife and three children were living with other relatives, so that there were nineteen people all living in four rooms.

#### THE PLIGHT OF THE LANDLORDS

With regard to the situation of the landlords, they were entirely right in thinking that shelter was one of the primary family needs and that if the grocery stores were to be paid, the gas company paid,

<sup>21</sup> The great congestion of work at the relief agencies meant that they were often a little slow about these situations that required immediate action. There was also the problem of visits made in the afternoon or on Saturdays; the relief office would be closed for the day, before the client could possibly reach it with his referral card. The best he could do was to go the following morning; but the following morning was the time set for his eviction. The definite direction to go to a certain place, and the card of introduction, probably did something, however, toward adding to the family's feeling of security. If a relief agency were already responsible for the family, the court worker could only make certain that the agency was informed of the situation and sometimes give the client a card stating the facts for his social worker in the relief office.

the milk companies paid, the fuel companies paid, and the clothing and shoe companies paid, it was only fair that the landlords should also be paid. Certainly it was very unfair to the tenement landlords to compel them to furnish a free shelter for destitute families whose other necessities were met out of public funds.

When some of the tenement landlords became destitute and applied for aid, the agencies in some cases put them on the relief rolls instead of changing the rent policy. One woman who had owned some good flats that were either empty or had got relief tenants, finally applied for relief herself when the bank in which she had a savings deposit had failed. "After all," she said, "I suppose I cannot eat brick and mortar, and if the relief agencies would rather give me relief food instead of paying the rents of the families they have in my houses, they can send in their rations."<sup>22</sup>

A representative of one of the large relief agencies who did not attempt to justify the no-rent policy said they did not pay rents because they could "get by" without paying the landlords and they did not have funds to pay for everything.<sup>23</sup> But the plight of the small landlords sometimes became very tragic. Their chief source of income—sometimes their entire income—was not only shut off but they were helpless to get the delinquent tenants out of their flat buildings without actually paying out more money than they could afford for the eviction costs.

The landlords became full of resentment against the relief agencies and the social workers, although, as a matter of fact, the professional social workers were not responsible for the situation and were unanimous in their demand that more adequate relief funds should

<sup>22</sup> This woman owned three buildings, containing eleven flats. Four of them were vacant, and five of the seven tenants were receiving relief—three from the Unemployment Relief Service, and two from the United Charities. The other two tenants were paying something like a dollar or so at very irregular intervals. The woman's husband was long since dead, and her grown son had been out of work for two years. Their little savings were lost when a bank was closed. The woman's taxes were two years in arrears, her water tax was unpaid, and she herself was applying for relief.

<sup>23</sup> The Family Welfare Association report notes that the reason given for this attitude was that the client, by occupying a house, is not using up the landlord's capital, as he would be in consuming a commodity like food. "The more or less helpless condition of many landlords," it was pointed out, "makes it easy for both client and agency to drift into such practices" (Wead, *op. cit.*).

be secured and that rents should be paid.<sup>24</sup> But landlords became convinced that the social workers were in league against them and were responsible for the fact that they could no longer even obtain what they called "justice in the courts." One landlord who represented a real estate company that sold houses on contract said that the landlords carried the home purchasers who were not keeping up their payments just as long as possible—gave them every "break" they could; finally, when they could not go on any longer, and went to court, what happened? The judge, owing to pressure from the social agencies, continued the case, and then he continued it again, and then he extended the time, and extended it again and again. "All the landlords want," he said emphatically, "is justice." As a result of this policy, he declared, "from now on the landlords are not going to give the people any 'breaks'; the first month they cannot meet their payments they are going to 'clamp right down.'" He pictured the poor landlord, regarded as the "villain in the piece" at the time of the eviction, when he was in reality "just a poor man trying to earn an honest living." "We aren't the 'villyuns,'" he repeated over and over again, "We're doing good!" "You have to consider our part," he continued, "we pay our taxes, we have to pay the mortgages—when the mortgages come due; the person collecting doesn't wait if we can't pay it right then; when the persons in the house don't pay their gas and electric and water bills, it all falls back on the landlords." "We shouldn't be punished; we're doing good!" This landlord was particularly eloquent on the subject because he had just paid \$32 to get a tenant evicted; but there was a good deal of justice in his argument.

As a matter of fact, many landlords were left to suffer indefinitely

<sup>24</sup> The attitude of the social workers on the subject of rents is indicated by the following resolution passed unanimously by the Chicago Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers in the spring of 1933.

"The American Association of Social Workers earnestly request the Illinois Relief Commission to review again its policy with regard to the non-payment of rents. We believe that a serious condition is being created as a result of the great distress of the people who have been living so long in constant fear of eviction, the great over-crowding in many tenements, the very real suffering of the tenement landlords, the menace to public safety and public health as a result of the turning off of the water-supply and light in many tenements. The Relief Commission is urgently requested to make some plan for modifying the present situation."

with large arrears in rent and all hope of collection receding day by day. Unable to meet the interest charges due on mortgages, foreclosures came and went, leaving the former landlord a tenant.<sup>25</sup>

Many of the victimized landlords belonged to the small property group to whom a few non-payment tenants meant not paying the interest on the mortgage and losing the property. The smaller landlords seemed to be "caught" more often with "relief tenants" than were the larger landlords, who seemed to know better how to guard against such tenants.<sup>26</sup> A representative of one of the large South

<sup>25</sup> No study of the special difficulties of landlords was made in Chicago, but they were undoubtedly very great. The Philadelphia study (*No Money for Rent*, p. 10) reports that in that city "about three in every five landlords were pursuing a policy of eviction. . . . In the Spring of 1933 removals by compulsion were running at the rate of about 16 per cent per year, that is, one family in every six was being forced out of its home under pressure from the landlord."

This report showed that there were 60,000 families who were receiving relief from the Philadelphia County Relief Board during the month of February, 1933, and that this number increased to more than 70,000 in the following months. "Assuming that the February Relief Families were typical of all these families, it is possible to make the following estimates: (1) 80 per cent of all families receiving relief in the spring of 1933 were renters (excluding owners and those living rent free), (2) the proportion of renting families actually in arrears was about 90 per cent, and (3) the average arrearage per family on relief was about \$100. Applying these figures to the approximately 70,000 families on relief in the spring of 1933, we arrive at an estimate of more than \$5,000,000. In other words, this figure would represent the amount owed the landlords for rent by families on relief at that time.

"Nor is this the whole story. The great majority of these families also owed money to previous landlords. It was found that families now receiving relief were moving about once a year. . . . The indications are that this rate of movement has been greatly accentuated in the later stages of the depression, but there has undoubtedly been considerable movement ever since the depression began. Accordingly, it is obvious that the present indebtedness to present landlords is only a part of the total indebtedness which has been accumulated during the depression. The total figure owed by the families now receiving relief must, conservatively estimated, be several times \$5,000,000.

"No account has been taken of the rent indebtedness of families not receiving relief. This phase of the problem is taken up in the present study in connection with the landlords' problems" (*ibid.*, pp. 33-34).

<sup>26</sup> The investigator at the Renters' Court reported that a lawyer representing one of the landlords' bureaus made the statement that his cases, along with those of the other bureaus and associations, had increased only 10 or 15 per cent; that the rest of the increase in cases in court was due to non-lawyer cases. On the whole, the non-lawyer cases were those of the small property holders; the larger landlords usually had lawyers, or had their property in the hands of real estate companies whose lawyers took care of the court work.

Side real estate organizations said that his company kept out the "charity people" by making "every prospective tenant fill out an application blank, giving the places of his present and past employment and certain other data that the company verified before it would rent him a flat." Under no circumstances would this company rent a flat without investigating the prospective tenant's situation with regard to relief. This same representative said that he had found the number of people securing leases under false names increasing, and told of a number of cases where the work record of a prospective tenant had been verified and all seemed well, but after the rent payments had stopped they found that the man employed and the tenant were two different persons.

The plight of some of the smaller landlords may be illustrated by the story of a woman who came into court about her tenants. Her husband had left her four flat buildings, believing he had provided an income for her for the rest of her life. Two of these buildings which were located on one lot included between them three flats, each of which normally rented at \$15 a month, later reduced to \$12. Except for one payment of \$25 made two years ago, when a veteran occupying one of them received a bonus, the owner had not collected any rent from any one of these three flats for three years. On another nearby street she owned two other buildings, also on the same lot, each containing two flats. In normal times she collected \$40 a month from the front flats, and \$22.50 from the rear flats. One tenant had occupied a rear flat here a year and a half and paid, in all, \$10. Another had lived there nearly two years, and paid a total of \$30—and that at the beginning of his tenancy. Another paid \$45 during the first three months of a two-year tenancy and had paid nothing since. Both of these last two families are "relief clients" and, according to the woman landlord, were moved in by two relief agencies. She is very bitter toward the relief organizations which began paying rent for families and then stopped. The fourth family occupying these flats paid \$16 the first month they moved in two years ago and have paid nothing since.

The woman said that she was positively ashamed of all of her buildings because they were in such poor repair, but that she could not afford to have them fixed. A few years ago she had spent \$175



to repair a porch on one of them, and now one of the families has chopped it up for fuel.<sup>27</sup> This woman reported further that her taxes amounted to \$150 a year, her insurance to \$135 a year, and her water tax to \$19 twice a year. Last year she borrowed from a personal loan company to pay the taxes and will have the loan repaid just in time to secure another loan for this year's taxes. Accustomed all her life to reasonably comfortable surroundings, her resources are exhausted, and she is now living from hand to mouth with the help of friends. However, she feels that she is more fortunate than many, for her property is not mortgaged.

#### HOUSING DETERIORATION

A third result of the no-rent policy was a lowering of housing standards. A great deal of illegal overcrowding was the result of the moving in with relatives or friends by families who had been evicted or who feared eviction. Flat buildings that used to have six families in them, three on each side, came to have two, three, and even four families in each flat; many normal six-family flat buildings had anywhere from twelve to twenty-four families as tenants or sub-tenants.

Great areas of kitchenettes seemed to spring up like mushrooms—flat buildings with once good, even fine, apartments made over into furnished rooms and kitchenettes with a corresponding increase in the number of families in the building. There would be several families using the same kitchen, the same utensils, and the same bathroom, with the inevitable disorder and general lack of cleanliness. It was almost as if no one cared any longer about the old decencies of life. When people were face to face with such primary necessities as food and fuel, a matter like dishes or decent bathrooms seemed to be less important. There were flat buildings that were once very respectable indeed, where everything was filthy and there were no funds to pay for any kind of upkeep. Conditions became insanitary and often degrading. The modern conveniences of

<sup>27</sup> In illustration of some of the more remote effects of the non-payment of rent, a further observation of this woman landlord is of interest. The real estate agent who handles her property for her used to collect \$50,000 a month in rents, of which he received a small percentage. Now he collects only \$1,000 in a month at the same rate, and is not able now even to employ a stenographer.

life disappeared. Kerosene lamps were used for electric lights; garbage-burners were used for stoves.

The relief agencies paid very few gas and electric bills. In more than half of the dwellings visited, the gas and electricity had been cut off. How long the family had been without these necessities of life it was not easy to find out, as the person interviewed often did not know. When it was more than a matter of a few weeks, no one seemed to be able to remember. The schedule merely reported that the gas and electricity had been off "a long time," or "never on," or "since moved," and other similar expressions. These families had, of course, been accustomed to the use of gas and electricity, and it was interesting that some women said that they did not miss electricity so much for the lights as they did for the ironing, as they had no way to iron their children's dresses for school. Kerosene lamps were everywhere in use as a common substitute for the once familiar electric lights.

The families who were without gas used various methods of cooking. About a third of the families had coal ranges; others had "coal heaters," garbage-burners, electric plates, charcoal; one used coal oil and one a gasoline stove. Two of those who used heaters had stoves without any flat surfaces on them at all to use for kettles; consequently, they were forced to set their cooking pans and kettles inside the stove, directly on the coals. Those who used charcoal got an old bucket from the grocer, punched some holes in it to make the proper drafts, put the charcoal inside, and laid a wire coat hanger over the top to set the pans on. One of these buckets looked very strange, indeed, sitting on the top of a modern and expensive-looking gas range but with the gas shut off. Another was seen on the bare floor in the middle of a kitchen, with no other stove or cooking apparatus of any description. The family recorded as having no means of cooking was one accustomed to quite high standards of living, occupying a \$40-a-month apartment. Their gas had been off a week, and in all that time they had not been able to prepare anything hot to eat.

The halls of once comfortable flat buildings were frigid because the furnace was no longer used. The flats were cold, and the old gas grates were sometimes torn to pieces so that they could be used for

coal, in spite of the fact that there were no proper chimneys. The rooms became incredibly smoked and dirty as a result. There was general deterioration and dirt.

Attention should be called to the fact that a large proportion of the people of the tenements, even in normal times, live without the conveniences of modern life—without electricity, without bathrooms, without proper toilet facilities, without central or furnace heating. Lack of proper sanitary arrangements and modern comforts was, of course, greatly aggravated during the depression years as an inevitable consequence of the no-rent or inadequate rent policies set up for relief families. Landlords who were getting no rents would not make repairs. Plumbing that was out of order just remained out of order. Janitor service was withdrawn from what had once been very good flat buildings. The resentment of the landlords over what they considered very unfair treatment by the relief agencies was expressed in the general neglect of their buildings. Tenants who were visited during the Renters' Court study complained of water standing in the basements; and in one home the plumber who happened to arrive while the court worker was present said that a pipe must have burst somewhere, and that the water must be shut off from the entire building until all that was standing in the basement drained away. But the water had been standing there almost two feet deep for nearly two months. The mother in this family was in the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium; one of the children was in the fresh-air room at the school; and the other two children were very delicate. In this same flat, the drain to the kitchen sink had been stopped up for two months, and the waste water was caught in a tub on the floor. Something was also wrong with the plumbing in the toilet, so that the floor there was always damp.

Another Renters' Court family complained that the toilet had not flushed properly for more than a year; water was carried to the toilet from the sink, and the leaking condition of the toilet kept the floor of that room and the adjoining kitchen continually wet and disorderly. In still another Renters' Court flat, the toilet leaked so badly that all the floor boards around it were rotted and loose. In a Renters' Court flat in an old frame building not far from Hull-

House, the door to the toilet was padlocked, and a sign on it read, "Do not use this toilet by order of the Board of Health." A representative of the Board of Health explained that the Board had not posted such a notice, and thought it had been put up by the landlord himself. The tenant, who had lived there five months, said the sign had been there when she first moved in and that the landlord had promised to fix the toilet but had never done so. In general, there were many indications of the well-known fact that landlords were putting no money into repairs.

The number of evictions in Chicago increased 100 per cent in two years, and during the year 1932 approximately five thousand people were brought into court each month because they could not pay their rents. Four-fifths of these people were "relief clients" of one of the good social agencies of the city and were the victims of the policy of relief agencies regarding the payment of rent. The rent policies of these agencies were not always definitely formulated but were determined by the emergency of the moment, usually the threatened exhaustion of the funds on hand. These policies, of course, changed frequently. But in general none of the major relief agencies of the city assumed any obligations for the payment of rent for their clients, and practically no rent was paid by any of the agencies except in cases of eviction. Had the relief agencies been in a position to assume the obligation to pay rent for their clients as they did the obligation to furnish them with food, the number of persons appearing in the Renters' Court would undoubtedly have been much smaller.

The effects of this non-payment of rent policy were various. It gave the client a feeling of great insecurity. It encouraged him to practice various arts of deception to obtain the necessary shelter for his wife and children. It forced the landlord to assume, whether he was able to do so or not, a large proportion of the relief burden of the city, causing severe hardship to many landlords.

## A DECADE OF SOCIAL WORK IN CLEVELAND

RAYMOND F. CLAPP

IN AN attempt to "see social work whole," the Welfare Federation of Cleveland in 1924 measured the "Volume and Cost of Social Work" in Greater Cleveland. As a result, it is now possible to give a statistical picture of trends in Cleveland social work during the decade 1924-33. Figures for 1929 have been included in the accompanying tables and graphs to indicate the extent to which these changes have occurred during the depression years.

For the purpose of this study, social work was considered to include operation of local community fund agencies, other private agencies doing similar work, and paralleling government departments such as City Hospital, Mothers' Pensions, County Relief Administration, County Child Welfare Board, School and City Playgrounds, the Infirmary, etc.

As is to be expected, there has been a tremendous increase in governmental support and administration of social work. In dollars, the total expense has increased 90 per cent, from \$12,230,633 in 1924 to \$23,209,778 in 1933, as Table I and Chart I show. All the increase in expense has been in the field of dependency (383 per cent), there being a decrease in expenditure for each of the other fields: delinquency, 20 per cent; health and hospitals, 6 per cent; character building, 39 per cent; and joint planning and finance, 48 per cent.

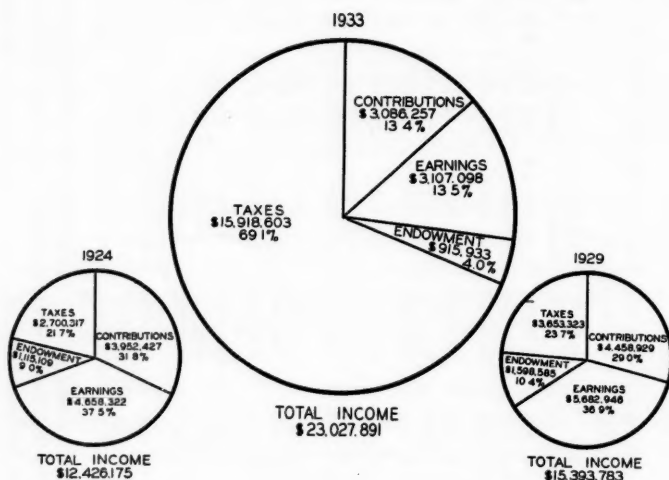
TABLE I

SUMMARY OF 1924, 1929, AND 1933 CURRENT INCOME OF CLEVELAND SOCIAL AND HEALTH AGENCIES, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, AND TOTAL EXPENDITURES

	Public Revenue	Endow- ment Fund	Communi- ty Fund	Other Income	Earnings	Total Income	Total Expenditures
Dependency	{ 1924 \$ 756,027 1929 1,238,480 1933 13,573,978 }	{ 494,378 673,301 375,709 }	{ \$1,468,876 1,685,478 1,253,706 }	{ \$143,617 191,050 223,033 }	{ \$ 380,198 308,712 227,045 }	{ \$ 3,243,096 4,187,021 15,653,581 }	{ \$ 3,268,119 4,172,797 15,769,562 }
Delinquency	{ 1924 55,350 1929 70,150 1933 61,875 }	{ 5,340 9,390 5,400 }	{ 187,684 231,801 135,940 }	{ 1,752 5,475 5,828 }	{ 44,151 51,338 26,416 }	{ 294,277 368,253 235,459 }	{ 298,760 378,551 239,970 }
Health and Hospitals	{ 1924 1,671,900 1929 2,003,938 1933 2,103,119 }	{ 523,955 812,941 460,836 }	{ 898,188 1,019,235 613,340 }	{ 30,400 106,157 171,239 }	{ 3,030,260 3,820,086 2,164,121 }	{ 6,154,721 7,772,257 5,512,655 }	{ 5,930,108 7,840,327 5,572,032 }
Character Building	{ 1924 217,031 1929 340,755 1933 179,631 }	{ 80,053 94,321 65,177 }	{ 744,133 776,098 407,174 }	{ 27,461 31,601 52,478 }	{ 1,164,399 1,285,644 664,581 }	{ 2,242,077 2,528,509 1,369,041 }	{ 2,239,580 2,500,667 1,373,532 }
Joint Planning, Fi- nance, etc.	{ 1924 ..... 1929 ..... 1933 ..... }	{ 2,383 8,623 8,811 }	{ 442,814 407,354 219,781 }	{ 7,502 4,500 3,628 }	{ 39,305 61,966 24,935 }	{ 492,004 482,443 257,155 }	{ 493,976 479,189 254,682 }
Grand Total	{ 1924 \$ 2,700,317 1929 \$ 3,653,323 1933 \$15,918,603 }	{ \$1,115,100 \$1,598,585 \$ 915,933 }	{ \$3,741,695 \$4,120,056 \$2,630,031 }	{ \$210,732 \$338,873 \$456,226 }	{ \$4,638,322 \$5,627,646 \$3,107,098 }	{ \$12,426,175 \$15,338,483 \$23,027,891 }	{ \$12,230,633 \$15,371,531 \$23,209,778 }

These data include the income for operation of local Community Fund agencies, other private agencies doing similar work, and paralleling government departments such as City Hospital, Mothers' Pensions, School and City Playgrounds, Warrensville Infirmary, County Relief Committee, County Child Welfare Board, etc.

CHART I  
DATA ILLUSTRATING TABLE I  
**INCOME BY SOURCE**  
CLEVELAND SOCIAL AND HEALTH AGENCIES, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE  
1924, 1929 AND 1933



On the income side, tax funds increased 490 per cent, while endowment income decreased 18 per cent, earnings decreased 33 per cent, and contributions including miscellaneous income decreased 22 per cent. It is significant that not all the tax increase comes from federal and state funds for unemployment relief. There has been a steady and considerable increase from local taxes, particularly for child care as Table II reveals.



TABLE II

CHILD PLACING AND INSTITUTIONAL CARE: INCOME, EXPENDITURE, AND  
CHILDREN SERVED BY PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES  
IN CLEVELAND, 1924, 1929, AND 1933

<i>Sources of Income</i>	1924	1929	1933
Endowment	\$ 195,263	\$ 207,186	\$ 95,182
Community Fund	552,889	679,388	467,612
Other	57,333	62,277	84,664
Total private funds	\$ 805,485	\$ 948,851	\$ 647,458
Taxes { Local	162,213	369,388	687,563
Federal and State	.....	.....	294,863
Earnings	88,177	73,979	25,944
Total Income	\$1,055,875	\$1,392,218	\$1,655,828
Total Expenditure	\$1,064,684	\$1,395,740	\$1,686,644
<i>Children Served</i>			
<i>Average Number under Care or Supervision</i>			
Private Agencies	5,247	4,992	4,919
Public Agencies	269	1,017	2,414
Total	5,516	6,009	7,333
<i>Average Number in Institutions or at Board</i>			
Private Agencies	2,004	2,082	2,257
Public Agencies	269	818	2,058
Total	2,273	2,900	4,315

The shift from private to public agency administration has not been confined to the family field where the County Relief Administration has been created to take over the unemployment relief load from the private agencies. The County Child Welfare Board has also been created with an average "family" of 2,296 dependent children in 1933, which, as Table III shows, compares with 166 "county wards" in 1924. The City Infirmary doubled the number of aged and invalid under its care from 444 in 1924 to 895 in 1933. The Soldiers' and Sailors' Relief Commission increased its beneficiaries from 418 to 3,065, Blind Relief from 245 to 365, Mothers' Pensions from 469 to 1,039. Tax funds for dependency, excluding family and unemployment relief, increased from \$354,672 in 1924 to \$1,111,387 in 1933.

TABLE III

INCOME AND EXPENDITURES FOR HEALTH AND HOSPITALS, CHARACTER  
BUILDING, AND DEPENDENCY EXCLUDING FAMILY RELIEF  
IN CLEVELAND, 1924, 1929, AND 1933

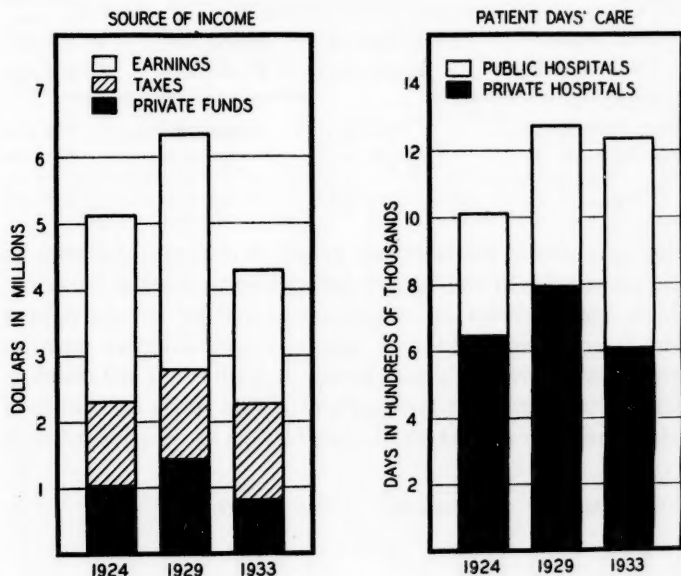
	1924	1929	1933
<i>Health and Hospitals</i>			
Endowment	\$ 523,955	\$ 812,941	\$ 460,836
Community Fund	898,188	1,019,235	613,340
Other	30,400	106,157	171,239
Total private funds	\$1,452,543	\$1,938,333	\$1,245,415
Taxes	1,671,909	2,003,938	2,103,119
Earnings	3,030,269	3,829,986	2,164,121
Total Income	\$6,154,721	\$7,772,257	\$5,512,655
Total Expenditure	\$5,930,178	\$7,840,327	\$5,572,032
<i>Character Building</i>			
Endowment	\$ 89,053	\$ 94,321	\$ 65,177
Community Fund	744,133	776,098	407,174
Other	27,461	31,691	52,478
Total private funds	\$ 860,647	\$ 902,110	\$ 524,829
Taxes	217,031	340,755	179,631
Earnings	1,164,399	1,285,644	664,581
Total Income	\$2,242,077	\$2,528,509	\$1,369,041
Total Expenditure	\$2,239,580	\$2,500,667	\$1,373,532
<i>Dependency, Excluding Family Relief</i>			
Endowment	\$ 313,940	\$ 386,143	\$ 218,720
Community Fund	745,208	924,699	606,296
Other	134,445	148,469	156,731
Total private funds	\$1,193,593	\$1,459,311	\$ 981,747
Tax Funds	354,672	586,349	1,111,387
Earnings	357,505	390,002	226,622
Total Income	\$1,905,770	\$2,435,662	\$2,319,756
Total Expenditure	\$1,917,054	\$2,432,359	\$2,360,992

Days' care rendered at City Hospital increased from 261,862 to 452,608, and at the Tuberculosis Sanitarium from 84,180 to 156,000, and visits to municipal clinics and dispensaries from 102,108 to 234,073. Tax expenditures for health and hospitals were \$1,671,909 in 1924, and \$2,103,119 in 1933 as Table I shows. This impressive record of growth in governmental service has been made possible largely by the sympathetic and wholehearted support of the public welfare program by the Board of County Commissioners, and by special county welfare tax levies, in the passage of which the private agencies have played an important part.

## CHART II

DATA ILLUSTRATING TABLE IV

### HOSPITAL IN-PATIENT SERVICE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE IN CLEVELAND 1924, 1929, AND 1933



The private agencies, during the last half of this decade, have accomplished wonders in the maintenance of service while all three of their sources of revenue were declining rapidly. Earnings, endowments, and contributions all suffered greatly as Table IV shows. But the private hospitals, for instance, by reducing their patient day cost from \$5.95 in 1924 to \$4.66 in 1933 were able to give 94 per cent of the 1924 number of days' care on 79 per cent of the 1924 income.

TABLE IV  
HOSPITAL IN-PATIENT SERVICE: PUBLIC AND PRIVATE HOSPITALS  
IN CLEVELAND, 1924, 1929, AND 1933

<i>Sources of Income</i>	1924	1929	1933
Endowment	\$ 487,829	\$ 718,314	\$ 446,475
Community Fund	520,173	612,079	211,935
Other	23,064	98,673	154,134
Total private funds	\$1,031,066	\$1,429,066	\$ 812,544
Taxes	1,276,863	1,360,075	1,456,874
Earnings	2,824,519	3,563,955	2,030,670
Total Income	\$5,132,448	\$6,353,096	\$4,300,088
Total Expenditure	\$4,929,172	\$6,418,130	\$4,365,232
<i>Patient Days' Care</i>			
Private Agencies	648,339	796,580	610,300
Public Agencies	365,176	476,532	627,194
Total	1,013,515	1,273,112	1,237,494

Other examples of the herculean efforts of private social work to maintain service in the face of falling income are the following: private agency clinics and dispensaries cared for 267,297 patient visits in 1924, and 458,100 in 1933;<sup>1</sup> private children's agencies cared for an average of 2,004 children in institutions and boarding homes in 1924 and 2,257 in 1933;<sup>2</sup> and private family agencies gave material relief to an average of 1,497 families in 1924 and 1,661 in 1933.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Table V.

<sup>2</sup> See Table II.

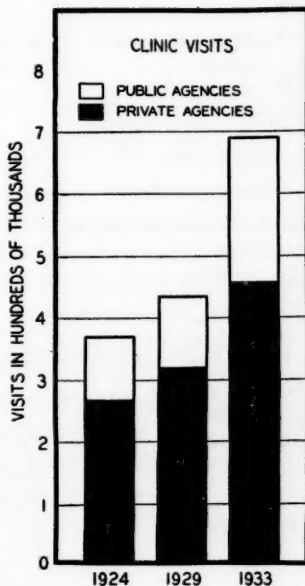
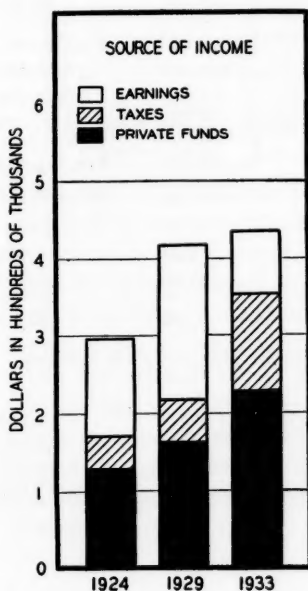
<sup>3</sup> See Table VI.

**TABLE V**  
**CLINIC SERVICE: PUBLIC AND PRIVATE HOSPITALS**  
**IN CLEVELAND, 1924, 1929, AND 1933**

<i>Sources of Income</i>	1924	1929	1933
Endowment	\$ 10,671	\$ 53,776	\$ 974
Community Fund	116,627	105,864	222,889
Other	744	3,086	5,740
<b>Total private funds</b>	<b>\$128,042</b>	<b>\$162,726</b>	<b>\$229,603</b>
Taxes	42,687	55,084	124,076
Earnings	125,497	200,168	81,876
<b>Total Income</b>	<b>\$296,226</b>	<b>\$417,978</b>	<b>\$435,555</b>
<b>Total Expenditure</b>	<b>\$292,574</b>	<b>\$406,870</b>	<b>\$436,500</b>
<i>Number of Clinic Visits</i>			
Private Agencies	267,297	319,774	458,100
Public Agencies	102,108	111,407	234,073
<b>Total</b>	<b>369,405</b>	<b>431,181</b>	<b>692,173</b>

CHART III—DATA ILLUSTRATING TABLE V

**CLINIC SERVICE**  
**PUBLIC AND PRIVATE HOSPITALS IN CLEVELAND**  
**1924, 1929, AND 1933**



The highest percentage of reduction in cost, 48 per cent<sup>4</sup> was in joint planning, finance and research, but it left a very inadequate skeleton organization for planning and research, and required the utmost economy in joint finance.

The 39 per cent reduction in funds for character building<sup>4</sup> placed a heavy strain upon agencies which at the same time faced a heavy demand for service. That these agencies met the challenge is indicated by the following figures: settlement attendance at organized clubs and classes, 1924—486,304; 1933—654,075; number of club and class sessions, 1924—31,601; 1933—44,638; membership in Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls and Girl Reserves, 1924—14,076; 1933—23,182; number of different children at summer camps, 1924—7,869; 1933—7,921.

TABLE VI  
FAMILY WELFARE AND RELIEF: PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES  
IN CLEVELAND, 1924, 1929, AND 1933

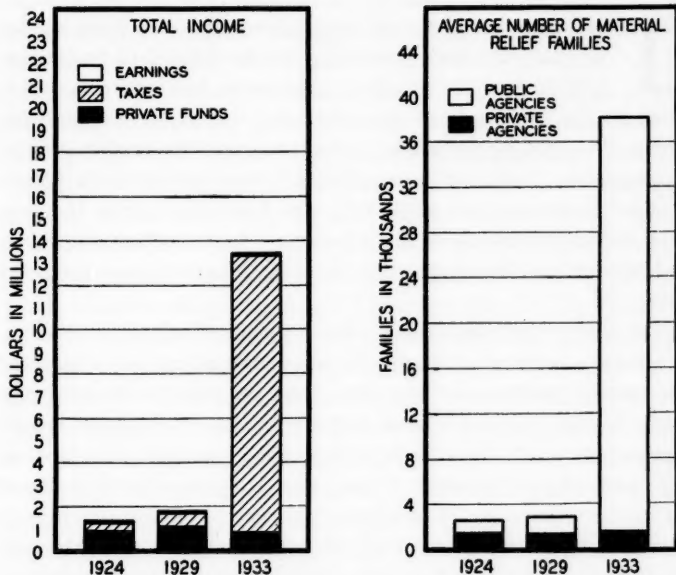
<i>Sources of Income</i>	<i>1924</i>	<i>1929</i>	<i>1933</i>
Endowment	\$ 180,438	\$ 287,158	\$ 156,989
Community Fund	723,668	760,779	647,500
Other	9,172	42,581	66,322
Total private funds	\$ 913,278	\$1,090,518	\$ 870,811
Taxes { Local	401,355	652,131	3,081,881
Federal and State	.....	.....	9,380,710
Earnings	22,693	8,710	423
Total Income	\$1,337,326	\$1,751,359	\$13,333,825
Total Expenditure	\$1,351,065	\$1,740,438	\$13,408,570
<i>Average Number of Material Relief Families</i>			
Private Agencies	1,497	1,413	1,661
Public Agencies	1,132	1,497	36,666
Total	2,629	2,910	38,327
Family Relief Agencies and Care of Ex-Service Men and Their Families			
<i>No. of Major Care Cases, First of Year</i>			
Private Agencies	7,139	4,412	4,807
Public Agencies	1,119	1,510	41,372
Total	8,258	5,922	46,179

<sup>4</sup> See Table I.

## CHART IV

DATA ILLUSTRATING TABLE VI

**FAMILY WELFARE AND RELIEF**  
**PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES IN CLEVELAND**  
**1924, 1929 AND 1933**



The importance to private social work of the continuance of adequate tax support of public welfare services is well understood in Cleveland and resulted in the organization of a strong and comprehensive campaign organization to promote a 4.5 mill county welfare tax levy at the recent election to provide \$6,492,469. This levy received a 52 per cent majority, running far ahead of other levies, but failed of the 65 per cent required by law. The state legislature then reduced the requirement for passage from 65 per cent to a bare majority, and the levy was resubmitted to the voters at a special election February 19. The passage of this levy with a 63 per cent majority prevented a collapse of Cleveland's social work program.



## THE CONTENT OF PROFESSIONAL COURSES IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

WAYNE McMILLEN

THE American Association of Schools of Social Work has for several years been promoting standardization of professional education in the field of social work. In proportion as this effort attains success, both the employers of social workers and the clients of social agencies will be protected against the cruder forms of incompetence. Selection of personnel will involve fewer risks if there is some assurance that applicants who have come from the professional schools have been introduced to definite uniform disciplines and have at least been exposed to the subject matters germane to the field.

The success that has already attended these efforts of the Association is very heartening. In several fields committees have evaluated the varying practices in the schools from the standpoint of the professional and educational issues at stake and have formulated recommendations which the schools, in increasing numbers, are adopting.

Community organization is the latest subject to be thus placed under the microscope. A preliminary survey of present practices in the teaching of this field reveals an urgent need for clear thinking relative to objectives. Courses similarly labeled by the various schools are often quite different both in content and in method of presentation. It was to be expected that differences in method would be found, since one teacher will easily achieve a goal by a route which another would find cumbersome. But the problem of content is more serious. If there is either a useful method of work or a valuable body of knowledge that may be described as "community organization," prudent administration would seem to counsel that educators should agree upon a similar delimitation of the field.

Students of law who transfer from one institution to another presenting credits in torts can be accepted with some measure of assurance concerning the subject matter covered. Teachers in schools of

social work cannot at present accept credits in community organization with like confidence. More important is the uncertainty which informed employers must feel respecting the equipment of candidates who list community organization as one of the fields they have studied. In absence of a merit system or a certificating scheme based upon examination, there is at present no means by which competence can be presumed except that which the Association of Schools is now endeavoring to promote through agreement among the member schools.

Some of the present confusion can be eliminated by a clearer definition of terms. In some quarters "community organization" and "group work" appear to be used synonymously. Actually "group work" or "organization of leisure-time activities" is a subdivision of the broader term "community organization." Group work is a service in much the same sense as child care or family welfare. Community organization, on the contrary, is not a direct service. It is both a phenomenon and a function of social life, the external manifestations of which are the agencies and institutions created in an effort to accomplish jointly the objectives that cannot be attained singly. Naturalists tell us of species in which the structure of group life and the division of functions are spontaneous or instinctive. So far as the human species is concerned, interest in the problem is enhanced by the obvious fact that most changes in the organization of community life are a result of conscious effort and are often accompanied by prolonged conflict among the members of the group itself.

Since group efforts must be marshaled for a wide variety of purposes in human society, a further restriction of the term is necessary in schools of social work. Communities are organized to promote economic objectives, to attain political aims, to facilitate artistic, religious, and educational experiences. Many of the objectives of social workers cannot be realized until a more rational pattern of community life has been achieved in some of these spheres—particularly the economic and the political. Nevertheless the specific task of schools of social work is to orient the student with respect to the organization of group forces for the attainment of the objectives toward which his professional efforts will be directed.

The tasks devolving upon social workers constitute a field that cannot and should not be inflexibly delimited. As knowledge increases social functions change. In the present generation a practical definition of the activities that properly fall within the administrative competence of social workers may be formulated with sufficient clarity by examining the programs of the organizations banded together in local councils of social agencies. Most of these councils are subdivided along functional lines into four subcouncils concerned with dependency, delinquency, health, and leisure-time activities, respectively. The larger councils maintain in addition a research bureau that carries on investigations incident to the services rendered by the four functional divisions. In schools of social work the practical procedure is to limit the field of community organization to the kinds of group efforts represented by the functional alignments within the council. The subject matter is in this way restricted to four major topics: (1) organization of the community for promotion of family welfare and the care of dependent children, (2) organization of the community for the prevention and treatment of delinquency, (3) organization of the community for the protection of public health and for the provision of care for the sick, (4) organization of the community for character-building and leisure-time activities.

Each of these major topics immediately suggests many subtopics, all of which are pertinent to an understanding of the pattern of community effort the student may expect to encounter in the field of practice. Consideration of the complex question of community efforts to promote family welfare, for example, immediately introduces a large number of special aspects of the problem. Among these may be mentioned the relationship between public and private agencies including the subsidy system; the machinery to prevent duplication, such as the social service exchange, the charities indorsement movement, and the interagency case conference; the county versus the municipality as an administrative unit; the principle of grants-in-aid, with centralized supervision; work relief; legal aid, etc. An immediate need is to secure agreement, not only concerning the general subjects to be considered, but also with respect to the specific topics to be subsumed thereunder.

The concept of community itself has been much befogged by some of the writers who have sought analogies between group life in human society and the ecology of the plant and animal kingdom. Definitions of community suggested by these writers usually hinge either upon physical proximity or upon identity of interest. If proximity is stressed, the term "community" is sometimes reserved for those areas within which face-to-face contacts predominate. Such concepts perhaps serve a useful purpose in pre-professional courses by directing the attention of the student to the kinds of problems that can be solved only by group action. But in schools of social work the units of association that have crystallized into definite political form transcend in importance the sociological communities, many of which cut across the traditional political boundaries. Whether we succeed in developing adequate machinery for relief—and, more important still, for the prevention of destitution—will depend upon county, state, and federal government. Some of these units, such as the county, are, under modern conditions, functioning along outmoded lines. Nevertheless, the task of influencing the board of county commissioners and the electorate behind it in the interest of a modern welfare program will not be advanced by ignoring the county in favor of some territory that may seem to constitute a more natural area of association.

The clear evidence of history provides ample justification for focusing upon the traditional political units. As long ago as 1848 Dorothea Lynde Dix saw that, if the needs of the insane were to be met adequately, a public welfare organization would be required not less extensive than the nation itself. When President Franklin Pierce in 1854 vetoed the bill setting aside public lands for this purpose, the task was thrown back into the arms of the states. From that day forth the effort has been to remove from minor divisions of government the responsibility for treating the insane and to muster the finances and the professional talents of entire states to that end. On the other hand, some of the social services meet needs so urgent that they must be administered locally either with or without assistance from a larger unit of government. Louisiana and Iowa attempt to care for the sick poor of the entire state in one or two centrally located state hospitals. This type of provision, however excellent in

quality, is probably too far removed from many who are in desperate need of the service to constitute a satisfactory basis of organizing group effort in the interest of the sick poor, and some type of decentralization must ultimately be arranged. The upshot of the matter is that for some services the appropriate area in which to mobilize group effort is the local unit of government, while in others it is the state, and in still others the nation. Despite these differences, it is nevertheless true that in a vast majority of cases the political unit rather than the sociological area affords the most practical avenue of approach.

The community chest and the council of social agencies represent recent developments in the field of social work. The council of social agencies has as a major interest the co-ordination of the scores of social programs that have sprung up in American cities. The community chest has as a first responsibility the financing of the community's private social work. In many cities the chest has also inevitably developed a social planning program. At present there is a tendency in some places for chest and council to merge, while in others the functions of the two organizations overlap, or may even be in competition.

The nature of the functions performed by chest and council have led some social workers to regard them as the sole instrumentalities through which community organization is effected. Such a view fails to square with the facts. In point of age, both chest and council are still mere striplings. Whether they should be regarded as the serviceable scaffolding that will no longer be needed once an edifice of effective community effort has been erected, or whether they are building into the permanent structure of group life as the foundation upon which joint planning and action in the social-work field will increasingly be accomplished, is a question concerning which no prediction can safely be ventured. The one fact unmistakably clear is that courses in community organization should not be limited to the functions and methods of the chests and councils. The efforts of group leaders to stimulate community interest in more tolerable provisions for the disadvantaged extend back through the centuries and have resulted in successive measures and institutions as divergent in character as the almshouse, on the one hand, and the mothers' pension

acts, on the other. The whole range of these efforts should be liberally drawn upon in judging present objectives. To subordinate this material to a consideration of present methods of financing private agencies and of co-ordinating their programs with one another and with the public social services is to emphasize the analysis of existing structure at the expense of issues more fundamental and more inclusive.

There has also been some tendency to confuse community organization with administration. Actually *administration* is a much narrower field than *community organization*. The two overlap at points, but in general the distinction may be drawn that administration is concerned chiefly with methods of operating existing social machinery while community organization is primarily concerned with evaluating both the present methods and the machinery itself. Many jobs in community chests, county welfare departments, and elsewhere throughout the field of social work require both a detailed knowledge of administrative procedures and a grasp of the broader objectives group effort is seeking. The task of shaping an educational program to meet these two needs will not be facilitated by obscuring valid distinctions between them.

In the main, the content of professional courses in community organization should relate either to the goals of group effort or to the processes by which these goals are approached. Much of the present variation is due to uncertainty or difference of opinion concerning the relative importance of the two aspects of the subject. Actually neither should be ignored. Teachers should be sensible of an obligation to assist students both to an awareness of the goals and to a recognition of the procedures that may advance these objectives.

There is always a temptation to remain in the realm of the abstract when concreteness involves the risk of taking a position. In this field there can be no finality in speaking of goals and no ultimate conclusiveness with respect to processes. But waiting for certainty is neither necessary nor desirable. Few improvements are effected until some measure of agreement, however tentative, is attained. And there are a number of important matters concerning which leaders in the field of social work are reasonably well agreed. They know, for example, that the subsidy system retards the development

of public social services. They believe that a system of grants-in-aid has a constructive effect upon local programs. They foresee the necessity of highly developed civil service systems if professional standards are to be operative throughout the field. As these illustrations indicate, some of the important goals can be clearly indicated. Without some perception of them, social workers would, like Leacock's horseman, ride off in all directions at once.

In community organization the term "method" must be used in a restricted sense. Students can be provided with a considerable range of suggestions concerning procedures that have seemed successful at certain times and in certain places. Few, if any, of these suggestions can lay any claim to universality. A stock of suggestions is like a string of keys; perhaps none fits, but there is always the chance that some may.

The most important aspect of method relates to attitude. Most students emerge from their training in case work and field work with a desire to be skilled in therapy. In addition, each student needs to acquire the habit of approaching his cases with certain queries constantly in mind: "What elements in this case reveal deficiencies in the community's treatment resources?" "What elements in this case can be used to promote a wider knowledge of social needs and a more responsive group attitude toward them?" "Through what means available to me and to my agency can such situations as these be interpreted to the community?" If this attitude of vigilant inquiry prevails, skill in adapting procedures to specific needs will increase with practice. The method of community organization is, in the last analysis, the method of education and therefore must always be modified to suit the special case.

If schools of social work succeed in equipping their students with a useful knowledge of the field of community organization, no one will be disposed to quarrel about differences in approach. Certainly very different routes are at present being pursued in an effort to induct students into the field. The principal methods in use have been called (a) the sociological method, (b) the case method, and (c) the historico-analytical method. Some schools rely exclusively upon one while others have effected a combination of methods. If these differ-



ences induce bifurcation in content, they become immediately significant in relation to preparation for professional service.

Teachers who use the sociological method emphasize certain concepts that serve to describe the sociological basis of community life. The social process—resolved into its constituent elements: competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation—becomes a kind of formula in terms of which the present stage of development of each social function within the community may be assessed. This attack is essentially deductive, starting with broad assumptions and working down through to the concrete manifestations. Persistent efforts to reverse this order by proceeding inductively from immediate data to generalized propositions have met with ill success. The concepts remain essentially *a priori* in character rather than scientific in the sense in which that term is used in the physical sciences.

Exclusive reliance upon the sociological method involves the risk that students may develop a detached attitude toward the specific problems with which their education should teach them to engage. It is a common error to confound detachment with objectivity. The one is not necessary to the other. The capacity to evaluate dispassionately is enhanced by a vivid sense of the reality of the issues, as is abundantly proved by the careers of such men as Pinel in the field of medicine and Shaftesbury in labor reform.

Sociological concepts provide mental tools that are useful in intellectual analysis, but for social workers they must be galvanized by contacts with the rough stuffs of which the world is actually made. Parallel situations occur in other fields of social science. Economists agree that economic theory is an introduction to labor economics and the economics of finance and taxation. Students in departments of political science who wish to become city managers, chiefs of police, or consuls, supplement their courses in political theory with a detailed consideration of the actual problems encountered in the respective fields of public administration.

The essence of the matter is that sociological theory belongs in the pre-professional and not in the professional curriculum. In schools that accept chiefly graduate students, apparently very little difficulty has been experienced in dividing the subject matters along

these lines. The problem is more troublesome in schools that give professional training in the latter part of the undergraduate period. For such schools the real source of this difficulty lies in the complexity of the pattern of the contemporary world. Educators are aware that the intellectual needs of those preparing for professional service in this very intricate society are numerous and varied. Selection from among the many specialties requires much heart-searching, a capacity to distinguish phantoms from realities, and willingness to abandon traditional paths in favor of those that seem to promise the most dynamic relationships with life.

For many years the law schools wrestled with a similar question—how to give in the first two college years the background courses in history, government, and political theory that should be a part of the equipment of students matriculating in law. Ultimately many of them settled the matter by requiring three, or even four, years of undergraduate work as a prerequisite.

The case method of study enjoys great prestige among social workers. They know that in the field of destitution it has spelled the difference between intelligent and thoughtful service, on the one hand, and indiscriminate and humiliating almsgiving, on the other. It is not strange that a method which has produced such significant fruits in one field of social work should be applied to others. That exclusive reliance should be placed upon it in introducing students to the problems of community organization has not, however, been seriously urged. In some schools case histories of communities provide the framework of the course but are used in conjunction with supplementary materials. In other schools community case histories either are not used in the classroom or are subordinated to the textbook, syllabus, or topical outline upon which chief emphasis is placed.

For many years the case method of study has been a topic of lively discussion among teachers of law. The brilliant lawyers of the earlier period in American history, nourished chiefly on Blackstone, seem to dwarf their successors, most of whom acquired their legal knowledge by the study of cases. The contrast between the contemporary bar and the legal scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has often been cited as an argument in favor of the text-

book method. This conclusion undoubtedly ignores many important factors. Certainly the leaders in legal education today are substantially agreed that the case method is the best framework for courses in law, but that it must be augmented and enriched by reading and by lectures that contribute a knowledge of the historical development and a grasp of the totality of the field such as a limited number of cases cannot be expected to give.

The case method in law differs in important ways from the case method in community organization. In a legal case issues are always sharply drawn. Opposing counsels present their arguments. Each attempts to prove that the present circumstances are analogous to those in preceding litigation in which the decision was in consonance with his client's claim. The court renders decision by determining which of the earlier cases most closely resembles the present one and by discovering the rule of law that was then applied. The task is one of deciding between alternatives. By studying cases the student therefore not only becomes familiar with the method of *stare decisis* but also learns to identify among a clutter of circumstances and evidence the fundamental rights that have been transgressed or duties that have been neglected and the remedies that the court deemed appropriate.

Debated points in community organization cannot be settled by deciding between alternatives. With respect to many of the most important problems a score of solutions might be urged. There is no accepted body of rules to apply. The decision usually depends, not upon the discovery of a rule by one professional person, but upon the weight of opinion among those whose voices determine the course of public affairs.

The reports of judicial decisions set forth the pertinent facts and the reasoning by which the court determined the outcome. Community case records, no matter how lengthy and detailed, cannot aspire to equal completeness. In lieu of clearly defined contending parties, entire populations with their multitudinous strata of racial, religious, economic, and social groups are involved. The records are therefore necessarily limited to those who are interested in changing some special aspect of the social service program and to a description and an evaluation of their efforts. Such records are helpful in sug-

gesting methods of enlisting interest in a given problem or of acquiring support for a given venture, but usually they can reveal the evolving pattern of the social services only in so far as they are interpreted in terms of the wider background and knowledge of the teacher. Without such interpretation there is a risk that emphasis upon the particular problems of single communities may encourage the student to adopt the earlier attitude that community organization is exclusively concerned with the effective administration and co-ordination of existing types of agencies.

The historico-analytical method relies upon fact and upon description. Events of the past are admitted to consideration, not simply because they are known to have occurred—a basis of selection that has too often been adopted in the teaching of history—but because they throw light upon contemporary problems. In his presidential address<sup>1</sup> at the 1931 meeting of the American Historical Association, Professor Carl Becker stated the matter very felicitously thus:

Memory of things said and done, running hand in hand with the anticipation of things to be said and done, enables us, each to the extent of his knowledge and imagination, to be intelligent, to push back the narrow confines of the fleeting present so that what we are doing may be judged in the light of what we have done and what we hope to do.

For social workers the future is the focal point of interest. The present and the past provide the documentation on the basis of which the future may be planned. History yields up the record of earlier attempts to relieve distress. Comparison of these undertakings with present group efforts discloses the extent to which existing obstacles are merely incumbrances inherited from preceding generations rather than essential elements in the problem.

It has often been mistakenly urged that this kind of knowledge is trivial—that the specific datum is irrelevant unless it can ultimately be generalized in terms either of measurements or of laws. This view condemns most of the field of human relations to an eternal limbo in which ignorance is king.

The truth is that knowledge which is inexact in the strictest sense of the word is nevertheless of superlative importance. No precise laws disclosed to Robert Owen a formula by which he could resolve

<sup>1</sup> "Everyman His Own Historian," *American Historical Review*, XXXVII, 227.

the conflict between the profit requirements of the New Lanark Mills and the exploitation of nine-year-old children. He relied upon analysis and judgment in assessing the situation and upon constructive imagination in attacking it.

The strength of the historico-analytical method lies in its reliance upon the attributes so passionately rejected by those whose hope is to imitate in the social sciences methods that are appropriate only in the exact sciences. A given problem is selected for study—for example, group efforts to protect health. The record of history is consulted. The present pattern of group effort is assessed. Critical judgment is brought into play. The strengths and weaknesses of successive measures are revealed by these comparisons, and the trend of recent developments is disclosed. Upon this body of material imagination is brought to bear. A tentative goal is set and possible routes of attaining that goal are envisaged.

This plan of study postulates the superiority of the prescriptive approach as a means of advancing group welfare. It assumes that as a result of study and the dissemination of expert judgments, agreement may ultimately be reached, and that the group will then set off in the indicated direction. A careful log of its experiences will be recorded. Perhaps the selected route proves presently to lead nowhere. An about-face is executed and another path is tried. Perhaps the goal is never reached, but sooner or later it becomes clear that one path leads nearer than the others. In its essence this is the method of trial and error. Thus far no other method has produced social results of equal importance.

In the field of social development empiricism has the virtue of cleaving close to the course of Nature herself. Nature has never hesitated to act upon the best premises at hand. Repeatedly she tries to produce new variations. When one fails she tries another. Earlier forms of life bear little resemblance to the highly developed species this ceaseless experimentation has produced. Man is not only a part of Nature but in the field of human relations performs a function analogous to her rôle in the field of biological development. Experimentation in the social field will languish or will flourish according to the measure of his enterprise.

The historico-analytical method may be supplemented by case

histories of specific communities. These community case histories should probably deal less extensively with personalities than many of them do. The failure of a county welfare program in a rural county may in large measure be due to the ineptitude of the social worker, to the ignorance and selfishness of the board of county commissioners, or to the apathy of community leaders. But more significant than these elements is the statute which gives petty local officials wide powers over destitute persons without making them answerable to a supervisory authority and that puts a premium upon niggardly and incompetent administration by exacting from local taxpayers the total cost of the program. Records that stress structural strengths or defects and subordinate transitory impediments provide the soundest basis for projecting future programs.

A distinction should be drawn here between case records of communities and case histories of families or individuals. There is growing recognition of the need for a closer relationship between case work and community organization. The success or failure of social treatment is very often determined by the availability of appropriate treatment resources. A rich store of information bearing on these needs is being steadily amassed by case-workers. A recognition of the community-wide implications of specific case-work problems will stimulate case-workers to abstract from their case histories generalizations of major significance to the community organizer. In the future, adequately written case histories will probably be a more fruitful source of material for the teacher of community organization than many of the present community case records.

Thus far only a few of the schools of social work have attempted to provide field-work courses in community organization. Apparently most of those who have offered such opportunities regard the venture as experimental. It is still too early to appraise results. These field-work courses have been chiefly in community chests and councils of social agencies. Since most communities have only one or two such organizations within the city and its surrounding suburban area, the number of placements that can be made locally is very small. An alternative is to send students to distant cities and to rely upon the paid executives there to give the field-work experience a constructive educational content. A further possibility is to develop local field-work opportunities in addition to those afforded in the

community chest or council. The social settlements have sometimes been suggested in this connection on the theory that students could translate experience in neighborhood organization into the wider idiom of the community. In actual practice, however, settlements are likely to assign beginners to club management, teaching, or similar activities that have only an indirect bearing upon the central objectives of community organization.

If it becomes clear that field-work training in community organization can make important contributions to professional preparation, the schools will not hesitate to attack the great practical difficulties involved. But the case for field-work training is as yet by no means clear. In family welfare agencies, the field-work student faces immediate practical problems that must be handled in the day-by-day job. In community chests and councils and in social settlements the student would face the aspirations of the group to afford a fuller and a more secure life to all its members. The immediate needs of a family can be met at once and the significant aspects of the methods involved in assisting them can be learned. In brief, there are definite methods to transmit. The aspirations of the group, on the other hand, may be long in coming to fruition. Women with the identifiable disability of widowhood were removed from the scope of the poor-law by the mothers' pension acts only after juvenile court judges, social workers, and community leaders had studied and agitated for years through meeting, conference, and committee. Who can predict the labors that may intervene before success attends the present efforts to afford an equal measure of security to those suffering from the identifiable disability of able-bodied unemployment? And who can assert that he knows a method that will speed the day?

Students placed in community chests, councils, or social settlements for field-work training can undoubtedly learn many things. But it is a question whether the experience is not primarily in the routines of administration rather than in the less tangible problem of promoting group welfare. The period reserved for professional preparation is necessarily brief. Educators are perforce obliged to concentrate upon the subject matters and the experiences that are least likely to be acquired later when the student has become a paid practitioner with a primary obligation to his job and perhaps with scant opportunity for contact with great libraries and with distin-



guished professional scholarship. It may be that the knowledge gained through field work in community organization can with less risk be deferred to the period following formal education.

A few schools have succeeded in placing students in chests or councils where they have had responsibility for the work of certain committees, such as a child welfare committee. All such contacts with the real issues before the profession are valuable. But only the exceptional student can be invested with such responsibilities. If the work of a committee involves a vital problem of community welfare, most chests and councils will hesitate to intrust it to an immature or an inexperienced person. The danger is that the student may be relegated to minor tasks that fail to challenge his capacities.

Field-work courses in family welfare encountered this hazard in earlier days. So long as students were simply assigned to local agencies for training, the educational aspect of the experience suffered. The field-work courses began to produce results only when definite training districts were established and supervisors were released for specific educational work. The broad view of community organization, which encompasses the whole field of mutual aid, is one with which every social worker must be familiar. However valuable field training may be for this purpose, it is clear that, owing to the restricted opportunities for desirable placements, most students will have to be introduced to the field chiefly through classroom and library facilities.

The dean of a great medical school declared recently that much of the subject matter now included in the training of a physician is irrelevant intellectual baggage. He proposed a searching scrutiny of the curriculum and a weeding-out of everything that cannot meet the test of contributing directly and immediately to professional competence. Some such analysis as that has been undertaken by the schools of social work. In community organization the task is primarily one of selection, since, in one school or another, a very extensive variety of material has been included. The results will depend upon the extent to which member schools are able to agree upon the relative values of these materials in terms of their contribution to professional equipment.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

## THE NEW BRITISH UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE SYSTEM AT WORK

AMERICANS interested in the Social Security Program and the development of plans for an unemployment compensation system in this country have a continued interest in the changes in the British unemployment insurance system and the new British Unemployment Assistance Act. The article by Mr. Ronald Davison in the last number of this *Review* gave a clear picture of the Unemployment Act. In view of the more recent British dispatches regarding the bitter opposition to the implementing of the new National Unemployment Assistance Regulations, it has seemed worth while to publish these Draft Regulations which outline in detail the methods of administering the new Act.

Draft Regulations prepared by the new National Unemployment Assistance Board were issued December 11, 1934, and presented to Parliament in an explanatory "White Paper."<sup>1</sup> The Draft Regulations are required by that section of the Act which provides that the need of an applicant for an Unemployment Assistance allowance shall be determined, and his needs assessed, in accordance with regulations of this kind. This is very unlike the American method of dealing with families on an individual-needs basis. But it must be remembered that Great Britain has never used social workers to administer the poor law or the social insurances but uses civil service clerks in both places. These clerks, of course, can only follow rules; and statutory rules are inevitably a rigid method of dealing with individuals in need.

The main provisions of the Regulations were as follows:<sup>2</sup>

### DRAFT REGULATIONS—UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE ACT

The needs of an applicant, including those of any other member of his household dependent on or ordinarily supported by him not being

<sup>1</sup> Cmd. 4765.

<sup>2</sup> From "Unemployment Assistance: Draft Regulations," *Ministry of Labour Gazette*, December, 1934, p. 437.

persons who fulfil the qualifications of the Act, are first to be assessed on the assumption that they have no resources. For this purpose a scale of allowances is provided, making provision for the varying needs of persons according to age and sex, and according to whether they are living alone or as members of a household. Where the application is made by a person living as a member of a household consisting of two or more persons the scale is—

- (a) For the householder and the householder's wife or husband..... 24s. a week.
- (b) For the householder (where rate (a) is not applicable):
  - Male..... 16s. a week.
  - Female..... 14s. a week.
- (c) For each member of the household to whom the foregoing rates do not apply:—
  - If aged 21 years or over:—
    - For the first such member: Male..... 10s. a week.
    - Female..... 8s. a week.
    - For each subsequent member: Male..... 8s. a week.
    - Female..... 7s. a week.
  - If aged 18 years or over but less than 21 years:
    - Male..... 8s. a week.
    - Female..... 7s. a week.
  - If aged 14 years or over but less than 18 years.... 6s. a week.
  - If aged 11 years or over but less than 14 years. 4s. 6d. a week.
  - If aged 8 years or over but less than 11 years.... 4s. a week.
  - If aged 5 years or over but less than 8 years... 3s. 6d. a week.
  - If under the age of 5 years..... 3s. a week.

Where the application is made by a person living otherwise than a member of a household consisting of two or more persons the scale is—

- (a) If aged 18 years or over: Male..... 15s. a week.
- Female..... 14s. a week.
- (b) If under the age of 18 years: Male..... 13s. a week.
- Female..... 12s. a week.

To this scale there are two provisos:—(a) that where a household consists of only one child in addition to not more than two adults, the needs of this child shall not be assessed at less than 4s. This increases the assessment which would otherwise be given, if the child is under five years of age, by 1s.: and, if the child is 5 years or over but less than 8 years, by 6d.

The second proviso (b) is that, where there are more than five persons in the household, the provisional assessment for that household shall be decreased by 1s. for every person in excess of five. This provision is prompted by the fact that, beyond a certain point, the common expenses such as fuel, light, etc., of a household do not increase proportionately with the size of the household.

If the applicant is living as a member of a household an adjustment for rent is made, based on the total scale allowance for the *whole* household. This adjustment is an important feature of the scheme. The scale of al-

allowances for households of two or more persons assumes a basic rent of 7s. 6d. per week (including rates), where the appropriate scale allowance for the whole household is from 24s. to 30s. per week inclusive, and a basic rent of one-quarter of such allowance where it exceeds 30s. Where the actual rent paid exceeds the basic rent, the allowance for the applicant and his dependents is increased by the amount of the excess, subject to a maximum increase equal to one-third of the basic rent in the particular case. Where, however, the actual rent paid by the household is less than the basic rent the allowance is reduced *pro tanto*; subject to the important qualification that, in special circumstances, the amount of such reduction may be decreased by an amount not exceeding 1s. 6d.

When the scale allowance has been adjusted according to rent the figure arrived at is described as the Provisional Assessment. The Provisional Assessment represents, in effect, what may be called the normal needs of the household, without any regard to resources and without any adjustment for special circumstances.

The next step is to calculate the available resources of the whole household in the manner prescribed in the Regulations. Generally speaking, the Regulations say in effect that a person shall be regarded as in need if the "available resources" of the household are less than the Provisional Assessment. If the applicant's resources (which include those of all members of the same household) are insufficient to meet the total of his assessed needs, then he can be considered to be in need of an allowance; subject, however, to one qualification, namely, that the amount by which the resources fall short of the needs must be substantial when considered in relation to all the circumstances of the case. Conversely, if the amount by which the resources exceed the needs is not substantial, he may, nevertheless, be deemed to be in need.

Resources may be either capital assets or income, and the latter may be of many types, e.g., sums received from boarders, disability pensions, earnings, etc. Moreover, such capital assets or income may belong either to the applicant or to members of his household bound to him by close ties (wife, husband, father, mother) or to other members of his household. The amount of any resources which is to be considered as available for the needs of the household varies both with the nature of the resource and with the relationship to the applicant of the person owning or receiving it. The rules governing the calculation of these amounts are detailed, but the more important provisions are as follows:—

Capital assets are not to be considered as immediately available to meet the needs of a household save in so far as they exceed £300.

Below that amount, the first £25 is to be disregarded, and every succeeding complete £25 up to £300 is to be regarded as yielding a weekly income of 1s. Where not less than one-half of the assets belong to members of the household other than the applicant or his or her wife or husband, father or mother, the limit of £300 is extended to £400. Moreover, in the case of all such assets as belong to such other members, the sum to be taken into account is the actual income received therefrom, and not the sum calculated as described above.

The provisions regarding disability pensions, workmen's compensation, etc., follow exactly the provisions of section 38 (3) of the Act, and accordingly need not be set out. They include the provision that the first £1 a week of any wounds or disability pension should be disregarded.

In regard to earnings, the rules are that the following sums shall be regarded as reserved for the personal requirements of the wage-earner (as distinct from maintenance):—

- (a) 5s., or one-half, whichever is less, in the case of the applicant or his or her wife, husband, father or mother;
- (b) one-third of the first £1 and one-quarter of the remainder of all earnings in the case of the son or daughter, brother or sister of the applicant;
- (c) one-third of all earnings in the case of all others.

There are also provisions governing the treatment of resources from all other sources, where such resources belong to a member of a household other than the applicant.

There are two further important provisions governing the treatment of resources. The first provides that the resources of any person may be taken into account in a different way from that provided for in the rules stated above where there are special circumstances, and in particular where special expenditure is incurred in connection with that person's employment. The second provides that where there are taken into account the resources of a person whose needs have not been included with those of the applicant in the Provisional Assessment, then from those resources, before they are regarded as available for the needs of the household, there shall be deducted, in addition to all other sums to be deducted under other provisions, the appropriate scale allowance for that person. The effect of these two provisions is further to increase the proportion of resources which is left to their owners and is not regarded as available to be set off against the household's needs.

When the available resources have been calculated, the general rule is that the Final Assessment shall be the amount by which the Provisional Assessment exceeds the available resources. This rule is subject, however, to three important qualifications.

The first is that no applicant shall be assessed at a sum equal to or greater than the sum which would normally be available by way of earnings for the support of the household if he and other members of the household whose needs have been taken into account were following their normal occupations. The second provides that a Final Assessment may be adjusted by way of increase or reduction to meet special circumstances. This discretionary power is of great importance. The third proviso enables a Final Assessment to be increased by a reasonable amount to provide for needs of an exceptional character.

#### PUBLIC OPINION AND THE DRAFT REGULATIONS

Protests against the new Regulations began coming in almost immediately after they were issued. The correspondent of the *Man-*

*chester Guardian* reported South Wales to be "in revolt" against the regulations the week after they were issued. He described public opinion in that area as believing that if the regulations were rigidly enforced they would "entail great hardships upon thousands of families, smash up the homes and bring about the wholesale destruction of family life," and reduce the spending power of two of the South Wales counties by a million pounds a year.

The president of the Miner's Federation, in calling for an amendment of the regulations along what he called "more humane lines," declared that "desperate conditions were developing and that the regulations would destroy the homes of the people." He said, "We are already reduced to poverty. If these regulations are carried out every tradesman will be forced to bankruptcy."

Comments on the Draft Regulations by some of the English journals may be of interest. The *Local Government Journal* in commenting on the Labour Party opposition in the Parliamentary debates that followed the introduction of the Draft Regulations said that

. . . the Opposition concentrated on the hard cases, and these, there is little doubt, will occur. It remains to be seen how in practice the provisions for alleviations and flexibilities introduced into the regulations will suffice to remove them, or how the rent allowance will work in various areas. In other words, no effective criticism of the Board's administration can be made until it has actually been at work, and in fact at work for some time. It is designedly a national and centralized administrative machine, and there is not much use in complaining because it acts like one. The Government have sought to combine with the inevitable centralized rigidity of such a machine as much flexibility as its structure will stand.

The conservative London *Times* commented in laudatory terms on the new Regulations, which from the *Times* point of view were quite generous. The *Times* said editorially (weekly edition, January 10, 1935):

The Regulations under which the [Unemployment Assistance] Board will operate are intended and expected to be more generous, particularly in respect of dependent children, than the previous system of relief. About 3,000,000 pounds more, it is estimated, will be distributed to the "transitionals" alone; and, except in a few areas where the rates of relief, when paid out of the taxpayers' money, have been unduly high, those suffering from persistent unemployment will certainly be better off. The same is true of the unemployed in uninsured industries who have so far been relieved at much lower rates out of the ratepayers' money. They

will be brought into the general and more generous system. It will be recalled also that the Statutory Committee appointed to watch over unemployment insurance under the Unemployment Act of 1934 has prepared a special scheme for the insurance of agriculture, which is the chief of the uninsured industries. . . .

#### THE LABOUR PARTY'S CHARGES

But the Labour Party was, from the beginning, strongly denunciatory of the new Regulations, which were called "Miserly and Niggardly" and comment from the Labour Party was highly critical as the following extract<sup>3</sup> indicates:

These miserly calculations, unworthy of the Government of an imperial people, emphasise the criticism made by Mr. Arthur Greenwood, in the House of Commons, when he remarked that the Regulations tend to *maximise the income taken into account, and to minimise the amount that goes into the applicant's home.*

When the scale allowance and the rent adjustments have been worked out, the result is called a Provisional Assessment.

Then further adjustments are made, by the application of the Means Test.

An applicant's case is considered as a case of need, requiring relief, if "the available resources" of the household are less than this Provisional Assessment.

The household's "available resources" are investigated under two heads: (1) capital, (2) income.

Any capital assets possessed by the household in excess of £300 is regarded as immediately available to meet its needs.

*Below £300, the first £25 of the household's savings are disregarded; and every succeeding £25 up to £300 is to be regarded as yielding the household an income of 1s. a week; though the sum to be taken into account is the actual income yielded, and not the sum calculated on this assumption.*

Disability pensions, workmen's compensation allowances, etc., are also to be taken into account.

The first £1 a week of wounds or disability pension is disregarded.

Earnings of members of the household are likewise taken into account:—

If the mother, father, wife or husband of the applicant is earning, 5s., or half the earnings, whichever is less, will be disregarded;

If a son or daughter, brother or sister of the applicant is earning, one-third of the first £1 and one-quarter of the remainder of such earnings will be disregarded, i.e., treated as reserved for the personal requirements of the earner.

One-third of the earnings of all members of the household will be similarly treated.

<sup>3</sup> From *Notes for Speakers*, published by the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress, January 4, 1935, p. iv.



The Regulations provide that where special circumstances exist, and where special expenditure is incurred in connection with the wage-earner's employment, the amount of the allowances made in respect of the earnings will be adjusted in "such manner as is reasonable."

The Labour Party also complained about "the Final Assessment" as follows:

The inquisition completed, the result is a Final Assessment, and this will be an amount equal to the amount by which the Provisional Assessment exceeds the "available resources" of the applicant. But—

*No applicant is to receive more than the income which would be available to the household if he and other members of it whose needs have been taken into account were in their normal employment. And—*

*A discretionary power is given to the authority to increase or reduce the Final Assessment to meet "special circumstances."*

Moreover, needs of an exceptional character may be met by a reasonable increase of the amount allowed at the authority's discretion.

A further Labour Party complaint was that there was "no free right of appeal," which they set out in the following:

All this complicated arithmetic and difficult assessment of human needs in terms of money income will be conducted by officers of the Unemployment Assistance Board.

These officers are being appointed all over the country.

Their assessments are subject to a right of applying for appeal to a Tribunal, consisting of a workers' representative appointed by the Board (from a panel submitted by the Ministry of Labour), a nominee of the Board appointed by the Board, and a Chairman appointed by the Minister.

*And this Chairman will decide whether leave to appeal shall be given in any case.*

A strong attack upon the whole scheme embodied in the Regulations and upon the principles underlying it was made from the Labour benches.

There are endless possibilities of hardship, injustice and suffering involved in the scheme.

About £41,000,000 a year is now being paid to 725,000 claimants of transitional benefit.

Under the new regulations the annual expenditure is expected to increase by about £3,000,000.

What expenditure will be required in respect of the other classes of persons transferred from the Public Assistance authorities to the care of the Board cannot yet be estimated; but it is assumed on the present basis of unemployment that the Exchequer will have to bear an additional charge of not less than £8,000,000 in providing unemployment relief and its contribution to local authorities' rate burden.

HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATE ON THE DRAFT REGULATIONS  
FOR UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE

A useful summary of the Parliamentary debate on the "Regulations" is given in the *Public Assistance Journal*<sup>4</sup> for December 21, 1934. This summary will be interesting to American social workers at the present time:

*Unemployment Assistance Regulations. Government Reply to Opposition's Attack on Family Contributions and Rent Scales.*—The Government secured the passage of the Unemployment Assistance (Determination of Need and Assessment of Needs) Regulations, 1934—the text of which was given in our last issue—through the House of Commons on Wednesday, after a three days' debate which, though conducted for long periods in a sparsely-filled House, had nevertheless moments of excitement and heat. The Official Opposition concentrated its attack on the family contributions scale, which it was contended would only perpetuate the debateable features of the needs test, and on the basic rent allowance which it was argued would affect applicants adversely in certain areas. The Government's spokesmen argued that the scales were a great advance on anything hitherto attempted, but stressed the point that the figures were only guides, and that discretion would rule in each individual case.

The debate opened with a general explanation and justification of the regulations and the scales by Major Stanley, the Minister of Labour, who reiterated with suavity but with firmness the necessity of taking into account resources in the giving of relief by the Board and of preserving a balance of justice between those who received money and the taxpayers who paid it. The regulations, he claimed, did this, and at the same time provided adequately and on an elastic basis for the needs of the applicants. To this Mr. Greenwood, the former Minister of Health, for the Official Opposition, replied by contending that the scales were inadequate. He particularly attacked the machinery for rent allowance, which he said would react adversely on applicants in areas where there were low rents. [The speaker] for the Liberal Opposition, especially criticised the provisions for family contribution, saying that while he agreed with the principle of a sliding scale in the regulations he objected to the fact that a very low minimum, in fact no minimum at all, was fixed. [Another member] bitterly attacked the scales, particularly in regard to family contributions.

## THE MINISTER OF LABOUR'S EXPLANATION

In the course of his speech Mr. Stanley said that the provision of 24s. for a man and a wife was about what was given in the best of the scales produced after various inquiries into needs. Turning to the children's allowances, he said he thought this was the first time that the distinction had been made on the proper basis that the older the child the more it

<sup>4</sup> *Public Assistance Journal and Health and Hospital Review, Incorporating the "Poor-Law Officers' Journal,"* XVIII, 1257-58.

needed. On the question of rent allowances Mr. Stanley said:<sup>5</sup>—There has been a general lack of uniformity in the practice of local authorities. Usually the allowances given are deemed to include a certain amount for rent, and perhaps there is some discretionary addition to the allowance if the rent is excessive. In the result one may quite well have two families in the same town and in similar circumstances getting exactly the same allowance and yet one paying 5s. rent and the other 10s. No one can defend that as being a practice which is either just or equitable. Either the people paying only 5s. are getting more than they need, or the people paying 10s. are getting less than it is possible to support life upon. That is an obvious inequality.

It is wrong (continued Mr. Stanley) that there should be no discriminating allowance for rent at all, and it is equally dangerous that there should be an automatic and inevitable payment of the exact rent. The knowledge that the State was standing behind the tenancy of such large numbers with an automatic increase of rent whatever it may be would be a direct incentive to profiteering by the landlord and would raise considerable dangers of collusion between landlord and tenant. The Board have adopted a rule which, while it makes certain variations with regard to rent, does not provide a hard and fast or automatic payment of the rent whatever it may be. The first thing to do under the Board's rule is to ascertain the normal basic rent which you would expect the household to be paying. That is arrived at in relation to the total scale allowances of the members of the household. Where those scale allowances total between 24s. and 30s., the normal basic rent is taken to be 7s. 6d.; if the scale allowances are above 30s., the 7s. 6d. is increased by one quarter of the amount by which those allowances exceed 30s. The basic allowance for 30s. is 7s. 6d.; the basic allowance for 32s. is 8s. If the allowances are less than 24s., the basic rent allowance is decreased by one quarter of the amount by which the allowances are less than 24s. Having arrived at your basic rent, you then compare it with the actual rent which is being paid by the household. If that rent is greater than the normal basic rent, then, subject of course to the overriding provision that, in the view of the officer of the Board, in all the circumstances of the case the rent paid is a reasonable one, the allowance can be increased by an amount sufficient to make the rent allowance equal to one-third of the scale allowance; that is to say, if the basic rent allowance be 7s. 6d. and the actual rent is 10s., the officer can add 2s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> With regard to the rent allowances the minister admitted many hardships in the later debate of January 28. At that time, Mr. Stanley said that there was a case for immediate inquiry into the rent rule and he announced that the Unemployment Assistance Board would hold that inquiry at once, and if a situation were disclosed "which could only be dealt with by asking Parliament to amend the regulations he was certain the Board would have no hesitation in advising the Government of the amendments necessary to obviate the hardships disclosed. If there were hardships, they must be put right as soon as possible." Mr. Stanley also said that he would represent to the Board the strong desire of the House that the advisory committees should be set up as quickly as possible.

## EXERCISE OF DISCRETION

If it be more, for instance if it be 15s., the matter becomes one of discretion. Taking the country as a whole, probably this provision which allows an increase without the use of a special discretion up to one-third of the basic rate would, I think, fairly meet the case, but there are a certain number of highly rented areas, such as London, where a limitation of this kind would obviously be insufficient to meet the requirements. In those highly rented areas, special discretion will be given to the officers to exercise, not so much with individual cases as in other areas, but as part of the general administration in that area. If the rent is below the basic rate, the corresponding reduction is made in the allowances, subject to the one overriding provision which permits a discretion on the part of the officers not to apply the first 1s. 6d. of any reduction which might become justified under this rule.

Dealing with resources, Mr. Stanley said the Board made a differentiation between various relationships in a family, holding that there was a difference in responsibility for maintenance of one relation by another. Next, what the various contributors retained under the Regulations was for their personal use only. They were entitled, in addition, to their scale allowance for maintenance. Very often in the Public Assistance scales the amount which the member of the household retained out of his earnings included provision for his own maintenance, and the next point was that the wages considered were net wages after statutory deductions. Milk and school meals given on a doctor's certificate were set off against the child's medical needs and were ignored. The provision of other meals up to two per day for a single child, or one meal for two children, was ignored. Another thing he pointed out was that the wage stop in the scale did not operate solely in respect of the wages the applicant could earn if at work, but in respect of the applicant and anyone else in the household out of work. As regards the use of discretion, he pointed out that while there was no differentiation between areas as such applicants in a rural district might have resources which enabled them to maintain the same standard of life at less expense. There might be need for some adjustment on these grounds in individual cases.

## EFFECT ON PUBLIC ASSISTANCE SCALES

[The speaker for the Labour opposition] asked whether autonomous public assistance authorities acting within their own discretion and spending their own money, who happened to have scales of out-relief for the non-able-bodied and the sick which were higher than those set out in the Regulations, on the threat of surcharge by the District Auditor, were to be compelled to come down to the Unemployment Assistance Board's scale. The Minister had tried to suggest that on the whole these scales were much more generous than the scales of many local authorities, but there were numerous Public Assistance authorities whose scales would put to shame the scale of the Unemployment Assistance Board. [The question was raised] whether the Poor-Law Service was now to become the hand-

maiden of the Unemployment Assistance Board and whether their freedom of action to deal with scales of relief was to be determined by the upper level set by the Unemployment Assistance Board.

[Mr. Greenwood, for the Labour Party] went on to say that the Regulations really maximised the income to be taken into account and minimised the amount to go into the applicant's home.

What would the position actually be in regard to rents (he asked)? It might be this, that in certain areas, such as mining areas, where there were large numbers of colliery cottages rented at low rents and agricultural areas where a man and wife would probably in no case get the 24s., they might be reduced below the Poor-Law scales now operating in those areas. Where there were low rents and where people had become accustomed to a low standard of rent and where they had obtained public assistance on a scale higher than others, in large numbers of cases those people were going to be very much worse off than they were before. In the case of the high-rented areas the same kind of difficulty would arise. There, the whole of the rent was not payable. A proportion of it was payable, and that was defended on the ground that it would be wicked to pay the whole of the rent because of the possibility of exploitation. The conclusion was that if the whole of the rent allowance be not paid and the family presumably had to pay it, there was going to be less available in the family for food. Therefore, the principle of need was being destroyed and the Board would, in fact, especially in high-rented places like London, penalise the people who were going to pay excessive rent, which they were only able to pay at the expense of the stomachs of their children.

#### THE BASIC RENT

[A Liberal member] thought that from the point of view of many areas the basic rent was fixed at too high a figure at 7s. 6d. Where the average rent was 5s. that meant the deduction of 2s. 6d. from the provisional assessment. It might happen, he said, in the case of people living in a very low-rented room or house, that 20 per cent. of the income they were now receiving might be taken away, a far more severe cut than that imposed in the national crisis in 1931. In regard to family contributions, he said:—"A very low minimum is fixed here. In fact, there is no minimum at all because the amount fixed is one-third of any amount up to £1; there may be enormous reductions in the incomes of certain families. There is going to be a great falling off in standards in those places where there have been comparatively generous Public Assistance authorities."

[Another member] attacked the scales, saying they represented a reduction in the standard of life of the people. It was quite true, he said, that in some parts of the scales the Board were easing the position, particularly for the young children. That was perfectly correct, but it was being done at the expense of the adults. It was only a few families, where there was a man and a wife and a few children with nobody at all earning and with no resources in the household, that would get some benefit out of this change. But the normal working-class family would not benefit under the proposals. . . .

[Another member charged that there were] three inhibitions which would render the task of the Board difficult. The first was the fear of the Treasury, and the second the fear of competing with wage rates. The third inhibition was the fear of competing with the statutory unemployment benefit rates. As soon as the system of assistance based on discretion claimed a more generous provision than the system of covenanted benefit based on insurance, a serious position arose. Either the insurance scheme would lose its basis or there would grow up in the assistance scheme a fictitious assessment of needs to keep the balance right. He went on to criticise the family contributions scales.

The Solicitor-General reiterated the point that the figures in the scales were guides and subject to general discretion. It was a fact, he said, that there was the greatest possible disparity at present between the allowances and payments that had been made in various areas. The regulations proceeded on the basis that the assistance to the unemployed should be a national charge. Clearly, he went on, if it was to be a charge on the nation there must be uniformity, but there must be uniformity under which proper allowances could be made for variations in local conditions and circumstances.

#### PLEA FOR COST-OF-LIVING COMMITTEE

In the closing stages of the three days' debate, [one member] suggested that one of the difficulties in arriving at a proper scale of assistance was the absence of a really trustworthy scale of cost of living. He urged the appointment of a committee composed of the wives of working men, shopkeepers, small tradesmen, and others to go into the matter and produce authoritative information concerning it.

Mr. R. S. Hudson, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, said the scales had been criticised on the grounds of inadequacy. One of the most striking points about the surveys that had recently been made was they showed that food represented much less than a half of the expenditure in a British working man's household, the other requirements being shelter, clothing, fuel, and light. There were definite scientific standards for food. No such scientific standards could be found for rent, which varied infinitely in different parts of the country. The Board had provided that there should be a general provision for the payment of rent. The scales published were in the Board's opinion a figure which, in the average family, would provide the heads of families with sufficient, after they had provided for food, for rent, and an adequate margin for clothing, fuel, and other incidentals in the ordinary weekly needs.

Dealing with children's allowances, Mr. Hudson said the average family in Gr. Britain had  $1\frac{1}{2}$  children. The biggest group of all was that of parents with one child, which numbered 120,000. The next biggest was that with two children, which numbered 90,000. There were 155,000 married couples without any children, and the number of families in receipt of transitional payment with seven and eight children represented a com-



pletely negligible proportion. The biggest single group was that of married couples with one child, and that was precisely why the Board put in the figure for one child of 4s. Under these Regulations an extra £3,000,000 was to be distributed among existing recipients of transitional payments.

The amendments were defeated and the motion approving the Regulations was carried.

#### THE CONTINUED REVOLT

When the British Parliament reassembled late in January after the holidays recess, the government, according to the *Manchester Guardian*, "at once found itself faced with a formidable revolt" against the newly set-up Draft Regulations. One Labour representative "declared that not only were the unemployed worse off, but that the Unemployment Assistance Board was, in effect, dictating to the Public Assistance Committee a lower scale of relief. He warned the government that in the months to come they were going to be placed in a situation, as far as the unemployed were concerned, more dangerous than it had been since the end of the late war." Liberals and, curiously enough, Tory members joined Labour in the protests and charges that poured in. One Conservative member from a southern constituency said that "the new administration was brutal; he could use no other word. A case had been made out for 'an immediate revision.'" One member of the National Liberal Party said that at a meeting of the Board in his constituency "80 per cent of the applicants had their allowances reduced," and he prophesied that unless something was done "there was going to be a great deal of trouble."

The Minister of Labour (Major Stanley) said in behalf of the Board "that two classes of cases in which special hardship had arisen were those in which two families, really separate, occupied one house, and those in which a large family living in a low-rented house suffered both the rent cut and the super-cut for large families. Instructions were being issued to the Board's officers which would have the effect of mitigating the hardship in these cases," and he promised that "more and more use would be made of the discretion of officers."

Further indications of public opinion in South Wales were meetings of clergy and ministers of all denominations. One of these groups unanimously passed a resolution protesting against the harsh



application of the Means Test under the new Act.<sup>6</sup> The resolution is given below:

Throughout the area cases are dealt with in a ruthless general manner, and not in terms of need.

The few who are working are driven either to leave home or to reduce themselves to the level of cruel poverty which already obtains among our unemployed people.

No allowance is being made for the extra wear and tear and maintenance necessary to those who are working.

Furthermore, the reduced purchasing power of the community brutally afflicts an already harassed body of traders.

In every way the Act lowers the standard of life in a borough which is suffering from a long period of depression, and postpones, if it does not destroy, the opportunity of recovery. We particularly deplore the attack on the home.

A similar resolution, published in the *Daily Herald* on January 30, was passed by twenty-four churches in South Wales representing the Church of England, Nonconformist, and Catholic Labour group. The resolution was as follows:

The scales provided are totally inadequate to enable unemployed persons and their families to obtain the ordinary necessities of life.

They degrade the standard of living of a very large section of the community; and they must inevitably destroy the unity of family life and disrupt thousands of homes by placing unbearable burdens upon members of families who are in employment.

We protest, in the name of the Master Who said: "As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also to them likewise."

The conservative *Spectator* of February 1 thought that complaints from areas "where the administration of relief had been notoriously prodigal" were to be expected, but the protests had been "too general" to be disregarded. The *Spectator* also had pointed out the danger of "rigidity and harshness," if relief were given by national without "the personal touch" of experienced workers.

Finally, the *New York Times* of February 6 carried news from London that the Minister of Labour had capitulated to the vigorous Labour Party opposition, supported as it had been by pressure from the other parties. The *New York Times* reports that while it is only fair to say that Major Stanley

<sup>6</sup> From the Labour Party *Notes for Speakers* No. 516 (1/2/1935). Published by the Labour party and the Trades Union Congress.

in his admission of the government's mistake put the case on the higher level. He was not content with merely promising a future revision of the law. All persons suffering from its conditions will have the old sums immediately restored to them without awaiting amendatory legislation and they will be reimbursed for losses of the last month.

"We are dealing not merely with business or finance or intangible things," said Major Stanley, "but with men and women. Where we find hardship we do not propose to continue it until we can go through the long legislative process of revising the law. It will be immediate and the agents of the Unemployment Assistance Board have already been instructed to disregard the regulations in all cases in which enforcement would mean further injustice."

The Minister of Labour also said that his own investigation had convinced him that the complaints were justified.

The *New Statesman* (February 2, 1935) came back vigorously to the question of family responsibility in the following paragraph from a very interesting editorial on "The New Deal for the Unemployed":

Behind this looms the fundamental question of the family means test. The family means test, as we have always maintained, is a bad system. It is vicious in principle, and it had deplorable effects in practice. "Economists" are no doubt right in seeing it as a convenient method of saving some money to the Treasury, by forcing children to contribute to the support of unemployed parents. Moralists who uphold it as preserving the integrity of the family are in error; its tendency is to be a disintegrating factor. To the masses of the common people the means test, as we have it, is anathema; and even the uncommon feel growing doubts about it. Mr. Stanley agreed that there was obviously a hardship (a hardship which even the Poor Law does not inflict) in a father-in-law having to go to his own son-in-law, living in the same house, for every penny he wants to spend. He need not have stopped at that relationship. Is there not also hardship and often bitter humiliation in fathers being entirely dependent on their sons and daughters, or brothers and sisters on each other? But the family means test will not, of course, be abandoned by this Government; all we can hope for is some modification that will make it a little less obnoxious.

No attempt is made by the editors of the *Review* to evaluate these discussions and complaints. This cannot be properly done at this time and at this distance. It is thought, however, that the material presented will be of interest to American social workers who are greatly concerned about further Unemployment Assistance arrangements for America.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

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DOROTHY KAHN, PRESIDENT OF THE A.A.S.W.

**D**OROTHY KAHN, elected president of the Association of Social Workers at the Kansas City Convention, presided over the Delegate Conference in February with great skill and unfailing good nature. The same characteristics have made her a successful social work administrator. She began her career in Chicago and was executive of the Jewish Family Welfare Society in Baltimore and Philadelphia before she entered on her present work as director of the Emergency Relief Administration in Philadelphia.

At last year's Delegate Conference Miss Kahn served as chairman of the committee on recommendations and, like Lea Taylor this year, she showed great patience and fairness in working out a Conference Report which reflected accurately the Conference discussion.

### THE MASSACHUSETTS COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WELFARE PROPOSES FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN POOR LAW

**A** REVISION of the Massachusetts welfare laws to discard all consideration of legal settlement and to require the state to reimburse cities and towns for 25 per cent of all their welfare expenditures is proposed in a bill submitted to the legislature by Richard K. Conant, State Commissioner of Public Welfare.

The purpose is to apply to all welfare assistance the principles of state grants and supervision by the state department of public welfare which have been successful in the administration of mothers' aid and old age assistance.

For the old basic relief statute the following is substituted, "Adequate assistance to persons who because of unemployment or incapacity are in need of relief shall be granted and adequate medical and dental attendance and treatment shall be provided by boards of public welfare." Boards of public welfare have handled unemployment relief in Massa-

chusetts throughout the depression, increasing their expenditures from local real estate taxation 400 per cent since 1929 to an annual expenditure of forty million dollars. The state has made loans to cities and towns on account of their relief expenditures, but now grants-in-aid rather than loans have become necessary.

Other sections of the bill provide for one-fourth state reimbursement in all cases and for discarding the archaic settlement laws as a basis for reimbursement.

The bill requires boards of public welfare in cities and towns where there are more than fifty relief cases to appoint agents qualified according to standards set up by the state department and to leave to the agent the decisions on individual cases under policies laid down by the boards. It allows small towns to join in the employment of district agents. It provides that persons receiving relief may be employed on work-relief projects for which appropriations have been made for materials and adequate supervision. The bill establishes the principle that aid should not be given for an indefinite period of time, but for a definite period fixed in each case, and that a new application be required at the end of the period. The evils of contract burials and the fear of pauper burials are attacked by granting a burial allowance of one hundred dollars to the family or nearest friend of a person who, when he dies, is not possessed of sufficient means to assure a decent burial. A proposal for an amendment to the state constitution would eliminate the term "pauper" and complete the outlawing of this word, which was largely accomplished in 1928, by its elimination from the relief statutes.

For crippled children at the Massachusetts Hospital School the bill proposes free care by the state instead of requiring the parents of children who have a legal settlement to apply to their local boards of public welfare to pay the cost of board.

In the care of patients at the state infirmary, a hospital of three thousand beds, and in the care of dependent children, the state would pay one-half the cost. The state now places out 7,000 children in foster homes and does this work for most cities and towns at their expense. The bill would allow such cities and towns as desire to continue to place children to do it according to standards set by the department.

The Commissioner of Public Welfare believes that now, when the federal government is proposing to turn back to the states the responsibility for the relief of unemployable persons, is an opportune time to revise the state welfare system so as to provide state grants-in-aid and the fullest possible participation by the state department of public welfare.

## RATIONAL GRANTS-IN-AID

THE statistical section of any one of the monthly reports of the FERA, which are required by statute, gives food for thought on the administration of grants-in-aid and leaves the reader in a state of perplexity and unexampled confusion. Does anyone, even the Federal Administrator himself, understand why such very large percentages of the relief burden of certain states are carried by FERA, while so much less is done for other states? There would seem to be no principle of equalization at work here; for states that are the most in need, and have the least resources, sometimes have smaller percentages of their relief burdens carried by the Federal Administration than do relatively wealthy areas. Why should Kansas, for example, with 15 per cent of her population on relief, be given only 67.8 per cent of her relief expenditures by the FERA, when North Carolina, with only 8 per cent of the population on relief, gets 98.6 per cent? The percentage grants to the states south of Mason and Dixon's line are indeed remarkable! Virginia, with only 7 per cent of the population on relief, gets 87.1 per cent of her relief expenditures from the federal government, and West Virginia, with 22 per cent of her population on relief, gets 85.5 per cent. Drouth-stricken South Dakota, with 35 per cent of her population on relief, got 93.5 per cent of her relief expenditures from the Federal Administration; but Arkansas, with only 16 per cent on relief, got 95 per cent of her expenditures; similarly, Mississippi with 13 per cent on relief got 99.2 per cent of her expenditures, Louisiana with 13 per cent got 98 per cent of her expenditures, Tennessee with only 11 per cent on relief got 96 per cent of her expenditures.

The unusually large percentage grants were not confined entirely to the South, but most of the states with relief grants quite out of proportion to their standing with reference to the percentage of their population on the relief rolls were in the southern group.

There does not seem to be "rhyme or reason" in a system that gives, for example, the state of Oregon, with 10 per cent of its population on relief, 93.4 per cent of its relief expenditures; and the state of Washington, with 11 per cent of her population on relief, only 81.2 per cent.

It is not easy to understand why Michigan, with 16 per cent of her people on relief, should get only 64.3 per cent of her relief expenditures, while Wisconsin with 14 per cent on relief should get 77.9 per cent of her expenditures, and Indiana with 13 per cent of her population on relief should get only 62.6 per cent of her expenditures.

The Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 gave the Administrator a

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## WEST CENTRAL STATES

	Percentage of Relief Expenditures Granted by the FERA	Percentage of Popula- tion on Relief		Percentage of Relief Expenditures Granted by the FERA	Percentage of Popula- tion on Relief
Iowa.....	58.8	9	Nebraska.....	78.9	12
Minnesota.....	84.2	20	South Dakota...	93.5	35
Kansas.....	67.8	15	North Dakota...	91.6	29

## NORTH CENTRAL STATES

Wisconsin.....	77.9	14	Indiana.....	62.6	13
Michigan.....	64.3	16	Ohio.....	70.1	17
Illinois.....	57.8	14			

## MOUNTAIN STATES

Wyoming.....	97.6	11	Oklahoma.....	82.6	24
Colorado.....	77.8	20	Utah.....	78.7	22
Idaho.....	89.5	15	New Mexico....	99.0	24
Montana.....	87.9	17	Arizona.....	83.5	21
Nevada.....	95.0	11			

## PACIFIC STATES

California.....	61.0	11	Washington.....	81.2	11
Oregon.....	93.4	10			

## SOUTHERN STATES

Maryland.....	74.4	10	Georgia.....	95.1	14
Virginia.....	87.1	7	Florida.....	99.9	25
West Virginia...	85.5	22	Louisiana.....	98.0	13
Tennessee.....	96.0	11	Mississippi....	99.2	13
Kentucky.....	87.9	17	Missouri.....	79.4	16
Alabama.....	95.0	13	Texas.....	46.8	17
South Carolina..	97.4	21	Arkansas.....	95.0	16
North Carolina..	98.6	8			

## NEW ENGLAND STATES

Maine.....	54.9	9	New Hampshire..	57.4	7
Vermont.....	58.5	6	Massachusetts...	46.3	16
Connecticut....	52.3	11	Rhode Island....	49.3	11

## NORTH ATLANTIC STATES

New York.....	53.8	16	New Jersey.....	80.9	15
Pennsylvania...	73.5	16	Delaware.....	49.8	7

free hand except for the first half of the first five hundred million that he had for relief funds. That half was to be distributed to the different states on a statutory matching basis. Since then the Administrator has depended entirely on his own discretion, and it would seem to outsiders as if he had been playing a game of poker with the governors of the different states, and as if the governors who were able to go to Washington with the best poker faces came back with the largest percentage grants. The foregoing table compiled from the November FERA report, covering the first three-quarters of the year 1934, shows these extraordinary percentages of relief expenditures granted to the different states in comparison with the percentage of population on relief.

#### BACK TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS?

AFTER one of his visits to America, Mr. Sidney Webb (now Lord Passfield) said that the United States had "the worst local government of any country in the world claiming to be civilized." The uncoordinated, inefficient, and, not infrequently, corrupt administration of poor-relief was one of the evidences of the indictment that Sidney Webb issued with his customary vigor. The old story of "Plunkitt of Tammany Hall," who believed so naïvely in what he always called "honest graft," might be applied to the local administration of poor relief. Everyone knows now the story of how the local bills of druggists, grocers, doctors, and other local friends and relatives are passed through the county commissioners. No one knows of this incompetence better than the officials of the FERA; and yet, with no permanent improvement of these local administrative units, the FERA has accepted the order that "we must and shall quit this business of relief" by turning back to the local authorities all of the families who cannot be supported on the made-work program at \$50 a month.

Social workers know that the participation of the state and federal governments in the financing of local relief programs in the past two and a half years has brought the level of relief nearer to an adequate standard than had ever previously been attained in this country. The figures in the following table provide eloquent testimony concerning the extent of this improvement. These figures must be read, of course, with certain qualifications in mind. The figures in column 2 represent average monthly relief per relief case given by public agencies only. At that time, public relief in some localities was often limited to a fuel or grocery order that supplemented the budget allowed by the private agencies. In Cleveland and Omaha, to cite two instances, the figures for 1928 would be much higher if private relief were included. Nevertheless, the data do throw



interesting light on the changing relationship between the taxpayer and the community's program for the relief of destitution.

Social workers also know that the levels of relief reflected by the figures in column 3 will recede if the proposed withdrawal of federal relief funds is consummated. With private funds now less ready to fill the breach, the cessation of federal relief would doubtlessly send assistance tumbling below the averages shown for 1928.

COMPARISON OF AVERAGE MONTHLY RELIEF GIVEN BY PUBLIC  
AGENCIES IN 1928 AND AVERAGE RELIEF PER CASE IN  
OCTOBER, 1934, IN TEN SELECTED CITIES

City (1)	Average Monthly Amount* per Relief Case, 1928 (2)	Relief per Case† October, 1934 (3)	Percentage Increase (4)
Cleveland.....	\$14.49	\$26.17	80.6
Dayton.....	10.43	20.09	92.6
Des Moines.....	17.67	23.01	30.2
Detroit.....	29.93	40.99	37.0
Grand Rapids.....	8.12	25.55	214.6
Omaha.....	4.86	23.59	385.4
Reading.....	22.61	27.57	21.9
Springfield (Ill.).....	15.61	16.00	2.5
St. Paul.....	14.15	34.30	142.4
Wichita.....	9.41	21.63	129.9

\* These data are taken from *Registration of Social Statistics, 1928*, by Helen R. Jeter and A. W. McMillen, pp. 885 and 890.

† These figures were computed from data contained in the *Monthly Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, November 1 through November 30, 1934*, pp. 57-59.

If the President's Work Relief and Social Security bills succeed, they will remove from the omnibus relief rolls (1) old age, (2) the families who can be carried by the mothers' pension grants, and (3) the families who can be supported by the work program. But there will still remain two groups to be indefinitely carried by a Public Assistance Authority Bureau or Administration: There are, *first*, a group included under General Home Assistance; and, *second*, another group to be carried by a Transient Bureau. To turn these groups back to the meager resources and unskilled administrative machinery of the townships, counties, and parishes is unthinkable.

The clock cannot be so easily turned back!

#### HOW MUCH SECURITY?

THERE are two ways of judging the President's Economic Security Program as it has been embodied in the Wagner-Lewis bill. We can count all the things it does not do and ask if this, then, is security. We

note that it does not provide for those now unemployed, and the public works program is, we know, inadequate to meet their needs. A federal tax on pay-rolls of only 3 per cent, with the states probably unwilling to increase it, will mean that the workers will still bear most, if no longer all, of the costs of unemployment for which they are in no measure to blame. No plan for improved medical care has as yet been agreed upon; and although there is a medical committee still at work on that program, there is little hope of the adoption of a program by this Congress. The provisions for the aged will be disappointing to many who did not expect to receive \$200 after January 1. The United States government will pay not to exceed \$15 per person toward old-age pensions for the needy until the old-age annuities under the compulsory contributory insurance scheme which the Wagner-Lewis bill proposes come into effect and after that for those not included in its benefits. These annuities will be available only for the employed. Married women not gainfully employed will not receive them, nor will tenant farmers or others who are not "employed." If they take advantage of the voluntary government insurance under the bill, they must bear the whole cost. If they fail, a maximum pension of \$30 after need is established will probably be all they can expect.

But we can also count great gains. In the first place, and of tremendous importance, the responsibility of government and industry to insure security will be recognized for the first time in the United States. The system can and will be improved in the light of experience. Federal grants-in-aid for non-contributory old-age pensions and mothers' pensions should mean progress toward adequacy and universality of these grants; and federal grants-in-aid for the care of crippled children, for promoting state and local public child-welfare services and for child and maternal health and for a general health program gives us federal co-operation in a broad social security program. The greatest disappointment is the failure to provide grants-in-aid for a public assistance program.

#### THE WAGNER-LEWIS PLAN FOR UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION AND THE SO-CALLED "SUBSIDY" SYSTEM

**I**N ADDITION to the Lundeen plan, which suggests national unemployment compensation payable out of general taxes, two other national unemployment compensation plans which are based on a pay-roll tax have been much discussed. One of these has been misnamed the "subsidy" plan. It contemplates a federal pay-roll tax which will be paid

to the states as grants-in-aid or less correctly "subsidies" for unemployment compensation. Under this plan, a national pay-roll tax would be levied each year. In the same or another bill the whole amount collected in the state or the whole amount minus federal and state administrative costs would be appropriated for the payment of unemployment benefits in each state. As to what and how many "standards" would be made the conditions on which such grants-in-aid would be paid, supporters of this plan differ. In general, however, they favor enough standards to make the plan fairly uniform throughout the country. All of them recognize that minimum rates of benefits cannot be the same throughout the country.

The Wagner-Lewis plan, on the other hand, permits an employer to set up as a reason why the pay-roll tax should not be collected from him by the federal government the fact that the state has enacted an unemployment compensation law under which he pays at least as high a percentage of his pay-roll toward a state compensation fund as the federal tax and that the state law meets the standards and the other requirements of the federal act. The great advantage of the plan proposed by the Wagner-Lewis bill is first that in the event the law is declared unconstitutional, and that sword hangs over our heads by a very slender cord, we shall in any event have left the state laws. The authority of the state to enact such legislation is clearly constitutional. While "standards" could be written into the Wagner-Lewis bill as well as into a "subsidy bill," there are few, in fact, included. These are (1) the 3 per cent pay-roll tax, which removes the competitive objection to the enactment of state legislation; (2) all the money thus collected must be spent for unemployment benefits; (3) reserves are to be deposited to the credit of the state but held by the federal treasury; (4) a 1 per cent pool must be maintained in states which permit employers to contract out on merit ratings; and (5) administration through a federal state employment service, the personnel of which is appointed by competitive civil service examination.

The American Federation of Labor would like to see a prohibition on compulsory employee contributions added. The *Social Service Review* has repeatedly pointed out the unfairness of such contributions and wishes it were possible to make this measure of social justice one of the standards of the federal law. Without employee contributions, under either plan the unemployed workers and their children still must bear most of the cost of unemployment for which they are in no sense to blame. The Labour party in England made a vigorous fight against employee compensation when the British scheme was in the making, but it was defeated and the system now seems fastened on the English and Continental workers.

We wish for the American Federation of Labor a larger measure of success. The President's Advisory Council is on record against such contribution. But with serious division inside and outside Congress on this point, we shall undoubtedly have this left to the states to decide, and employee contributions will be required under some but not all the state laws enacted. The division on this point extends to our own ranks, and we find the editor of the *Survey* and a number of leading settlement workers as well as some economists supporting the employers in their demand that the employees bear part of the cost of unemployment benefits, although they must bear the whole cost of waiting periods, and will receive only 50 per cent of their wages for a limited period of time. Moreover, as President Green has pointed out, the employers can usually pass on to the consumers the tax levied on them. The workers as consumers will pay part of that tax and can pass on to the community no part of the burden they must carry.

As to other standards, such as whether we shall have higher benefit rates and a short period of payments, or, like the English, very low benefit rates for a longer period, these can be added to the Wagner-Lewis bill as we obtain, by experience, evidence as to which will in fact be more in the interest of the workers. Experience will also give us the basis on which a plan for federal reserves for the payment of workers moving from one state to another can be worked out.

It should be unnecessary to point out that there are great administrative problems in connection with this and the other security measures, especially the old age annuity scheme as included in the President's security program. They are not made simpler because of the fact that we have a federal form of government and that industrial conditions vary so greatly that a uniform national minimum benefit for the unemployed worker which the South would accept would mean grave injustice to the workers in the northern industrial states. As progress is made in the organization of the workers and in the improvement of wages, particularly in the South, we shall be able to make progress toward uniformity. The Wagner-Lewis bill provides a national framework. If it is sustained as constitutional by the courts, standards can be added as experience points the way. It is highly important that the bill be passed promptly so that the state legislatures can take the necessary action with reference to this as well as other titles of the bill requiring state legislation.

#### POLITICAL CONTROL OF STATE DEPARTMENTS

**T**HIS year has given us additional evidence of the insecurity of our state public welfare departments where the so-called "cabinet" form of organization has been adopted. In Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, and

other states which have written into law this theory of executive responsibility it has been the custom for each incoming governor to appoint a new director of the public welfare department. The custom has been followed again this year by Pennsylvania and Ohio. In both states persons without previous experience in the department or in public welfare administration must begin to discover *de novo* the needs of the state, what agencies and institutions there are and how they are functioning. Just as they have acquired some understanding of the problem, they will in turn be removed. A bill just passed by the legislature of Arkansas makes an elected group of state officials the Board of Public Welfare, thus placing the new department squarely under political control.

While in a few states—Virginia and Maine, for example—although the governor has the authority, there is a tradition that the heads of the health and welfare departments should not be removed with every change in the governorship; in general, the safe plan seems to be to follow the New Jersey and New York type of legislation in giving to an unpaid public welfare board, with the terms of the members expiring in rotation over a period of years, the power to appoint the commissioner. This insures continuity in the development of a program and protects the department from political upheavals. To insure a wise selection of commissioners or directors of public welfare and the formulation of sound policies it is important under this plan to have board members who understand the problems of the department. In both New York and New Jersey the tradition of appointing members who are qualified by interest and experience is well established and reappointment as their terms expire is customary. This not only insures protection of the department but means that the board becomes thoroughly familiar with state public welfare problems and is able to make a significant contribution in the planning of new services or the reorganization of existing bureaus or divisions of the department.

#### THE CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT

THE Child Labor Amendment continues to make progress toward ratification in spite of the organized and apparently well-financed opposition of the misnamed "Committee for the Protection of Child, Family, School and Church." In 1924-25 an organization called the Farmers' States Rights League was organized by the editor of the *Southern Textile Bulletin*. Through paid advertisements in local papers of the Middle West and West it led many farmers to believe that the amendment would prohibit a boy from doing chores or a girl from washing dishes if under eighteen years of age. After the history and source of the funds of this organization were revealed its usefulness was gone, but the editor of

the *Bulletin* boasts it was one of several of his enterprises which helped to defeat the amendment before the Legislatures in 1924-25.

The Committee for the Protection of Child, Family, School and Church has succeeded in convincing many Catholics and Lutherans that the ratification of the amendment means the closing of private schools, although there is absolutely no basis for it. Unlike the Eighteenth Amendment, the Child Labor Amendment contains no prohibition; it is a grant "of power to Congress to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age." This same Committee is also repeating the stories of "red" authorship of the amendment which were made in 1924. A statement as to the authorship and history of the amendment was made by Senator Thomas Walsh (*Congressional Record*, 1925, p. 1440) of Montana, who with Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania was, more than anyone else, responsible for the final form of the amendment. Senator Costigan, who wrote the draft which was introduced by Representative Foster and Senator Medill McCormick and which first passed the House, has put the whole story in the *Congressional Record* of February 9, 1935.

In addition to Senator Walsh some of the other well-known "Communists" who supported the amendment some ten years ago were the three candidates for the Presidency—Calvin Coolidge, John W. Davis, and Robert M. La Follette.

President Roosevelt and Secretaries Perkins, Ickes, Wallace, Farley, and Cummings have recently issued statements in support of ratification, and Mrs. Roosevelt, who supported it when it was pending in Congress in 1923 and 1924, is still urging ratification. While the employment of children under sixteen has been greatly reduced and an eighteen-year minimum adopted for many hazardous occupations through the N.R.A., the National Industrial Recovery Act is temporary legislation and as President Roosevelt has pointed out, the way to salvage these gains is to ratify the amendment.

Up to 1933 only six states had ratified—Arkansas, Arizona, California, Colorado, Montana, and Wisconsin. In 1933, when the importance of national control had been dramatized by the depression, fourteen states ratified—Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Washington, and West Virginia. In 1934, when there were very few legislatures meeting in regular session, there were no ratifications; and the National Committee for Child, Family, School and Church claimed it had succeeded in stopping further ratification. However, in 1935 there have been to date four ratifications by Idaho, Indiana, Utah, and Wyoming. It will apparently not be allowed to come to a vote in

New York, where leading citizens including Governor Lehman and Mayor LaGuardia have urged ratification. The difficulty of meeting widespread and deliberate misstatements of fact was never better illustrated than in connection with the Child Labor Amendment.

#### SHALL A.A.S.W. DUES BE INCREASED?

MANY members of many chapters voted with genuine regret against an increase in the A.A.S.W. membership dues that had been requested by the headquarters staff. But active chapter workers do not forget that the majority of A.A.S.W. members live on salaries averaging from \$125 to \$150 a month. These members often pay three sets of dues: (1) A.A.S.W. dues; (2) N.C.S.W. dues; (3) dues for a special professional organization for medical social work, psychiatric, family welfare, public welfare, or what you will.

If increased dues are needed, has not the time come for a careful, thoughtful re-examination of the old question of possibly amalgamating N.C.S.W. with A.A.S.W.? Is there any reason why N.C.S.W. should not be the annual meeting of the professional social-work group? This would not mean that volunteers or others would be excluded from these meetings. The annual meetings would be open to outsiders as are the meetings of the American Medical Association or the National Education Association. But amalgamation would mean that social workers would be saved the expense of supporting a second expensive overhead organization for the sole purpose of supervising the annual meeting. At least we should be assured by a careful review of the values and costs of the two organizations that this amalgamation will not mean substantial economies which would make possible development of the professional services of the Association.

Can we not reason together about this possibility?

#### ON TO WASHINGTON

THE editors of the *Review* continue to be convinced, as they talk with different Association members, that the wise strategy for us at the present time is to have the headquarters of the A.A.S.W. moved from New York City to Washington, D.C., and follow the precedent set by many other national organizations, including the National Education Association.

It is clear that we shall have a major interest for many years to come in federal policies, federal legislation, and the administrative aspects of a great deal of federal machinery. Such influence as we have will not be



fully exerted as long as our headquarters are in New York City. With headquarters in Washington, where the headquarters' staff will be available for consultation, and continuous and effective discussion with legislative and congressional committees and administrative agencies, we can have a great deal of influence in securing national legislation in the field of social welfare and in supporting the efforts of social workers who may be connected with different governmental departments, to secure the kind of support they need.

#### PUBLICITY FOR PUBLIC SOCIAL AGENCIES

**I**NTERPRETING to the general public the functions and objectives of social agencies, and especially of public welfare departments, is of special importance in these times. The Social Work Publicity Council has long provided a channel through which ideas and experiences have been exchanged by those who are responsible for this difficult job. Unfortunately, the public agencies of our cities and counties have been slow in appreciating the importance of having the public know and understand what they are doing. Now, under the stress of the present situation and with new responsibilities being assumed by public agencies, the importance of this task cannot be ignored.

Recent issues of the *News Bulletin* of the Council seek to throw light upon the special problems confronting those who seek to interpret the public social services. Unfortunately, some of the publicity issued by private agencies has tended to place the work of public agencies in an unfavorable light. In pointing out the shortsightedness of this approach, in urging greater emphasis upon the partnership relationship, and in stimulating public agencies to tell their own story adequately and honestly, the Council is rendering an important and a timely service.

#### REVIEW OF SOCIAL STATISTICS

**T**HE Boston Council of Social Agencies initiated in December, 1934, a new monthly publication entitled *Review of Social Statistics*. Boston thus joins the growing group of cities that publish bulletins based on statistics collected from local agencies.

The first issue of the new bulletin contains three graphs, three tables, and several columns of interpretative comment. The data presented relate to relief, employment, child care, and the operations of the Social Service Index. It is safe to predict that this new undertaking will prove very serviceable, not only to Boston agencies, but to social workers in other cities.

## POOR LAW HISTORY

THE University of Chicago is glad to have some of the studies of poor law history made by graduate students and members of the faculty of the School of Social Service finally available in published form. The School believes that professional social workers will find the history of our poor law statutes, not only in their legislative and administrative aspects but also in the legal interpretations which have accumulated in the numerous court decisions, especially useful at this time, when sweeping revision of the old laws is now being discussed. The first of these studies to be published is *The Ohio Poor Law and Its Administration*, by Aileen E. Kennedy. Miss Kennedy was formerly one of the staff of field supervisors and research assistants of the School and is now of the Ohio Department of Public Welfare. A useful supplementary collection of the most important Ohio Supreme Court decisions and Attorney-General's opinions selected and edited by Miss Breckinridge are included in the volume. The study of the Kansas poor law by Grace Browning, now on the staff of the Tulane School, will be available in March; and at least two other studies will be issued, it is hoped by June.

## INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

ANNOUNCEMENTS of international conferences to be held in Europe are now being received. The International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, which met in Prague in 1930, will hold its eleventh meeting in Berlin in August. Mr. Sanford Bates, head of the Bureau of Prisons of the U.S. Department of Justice, will head the American delegation. Reports and papers on the "programme of questions" were submitted by the "rapporteurs," according to custom in the autumn of 1934. These, translated and summarized, will serve as the basis of the discussion when the Commission meets. The International Housing and Town Planning Conference will meet in London the third week in July with the British Minister of Health serving as president of the Conference. Another called the Congress of the International Housing Association is scheduled to meet in Prague in June.

There are also to be three conferences in Brussels. The International Association for the Promotion of Child Welfare, meeting from July 18 to July 21 under the patronage of the Belgian government, will discuss rural child welfare and the effects of the depression on children and adolescents. The Fifth Catholic International Conference of Social Work meets July 28 to July 31, and the week following, the Fifth International Congress on Family Education. The latter is like the Child Welfare meeting under the patronage of the Belgian government.

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IN MEMORIAM

*Caroline Wallace*  
*Alice Mae Irwin*

*Marian Cory Riggs*  
*Hope Norris Hines*

THE Angel of Death passed and repassed over the Chicago Unemployment Relief Service during this last winter. A long and cruelly inclement season in Chicago was marked this last winter by unremitting and devoted service, with over-time work generously given by the staff members, many of them relatively young and inexperienced in the public relief services. And this winter of 1934-35 will always be remembered by Chicago social workers as the winter when tragedy stole down the frozen and snowy streets and suddenly knocked at the doors of two of the great relief stations. Social workers, like doctors and nurses, must be ready to face danger from time to time, and the staff of this great public agency showed that they were not only ready for service at all times but also ready to face the worst, erect and unafraid.

In the more recent tragedy, the district supervisor and a young caseworker of the Lincoln Park District were shot by a relief client who was mentally unbalanced by his troubles. Caroline Wallace, who was the superintendent of the district, acted with such rare courage and presence of mind that we are all proud to be members of her profession. She had begun professional work as a trained nurse, a graduate of St. Luke's Hospital, Chicago, and she was a student in the School of Social Service, University of Chicago, nearly ten years ago. In taking her professional social-work training it was more than a coincidence that she should have done her Field Work under Edwina Meaney, now Mrs. Lewis, director of the Unemployment Relief Service. Reading through her student file recently, it was interesting to find that the record showed that from the very beginning Mrs. Lewis had reported her to be an unusually promising worker—quiet, competent, understanding, intelligent, with mature and disciplined judgment. It was fitting that Mrs. Lewis, so recently her "general director," should have been present at the hospital when it was thought that a blood transfusion might be successful, and fitting that Mrs. Lewis should have been the one quickly to respond and render this last service to the superintendent whom she had started in social work as a young student, and who had shared her responsibilities during these last exigent years.

Alice M. Irwin, a graduate of an eastern university, was a young caseworker who had also been a student at the School of Social Service, but

had not completed her professional training. She was found where the man had shot her, sitting upright, alone, with her notes before her, and the surroundings strangely peaceful and undisturbed. The office record of the distracted client was what might be called a model record. There had not been any "cutting-off of relief," as the newspapers had reported at first. The man and his mother had been well cared for. There had been an entirely satisfactory relationship with the district office and the case-worker. There had been no quarrels, no complaints, and when the man appeared at the district office and demanded an interview with the superintendent, she met him quietly, cordially, and willing to take the time to try to understand his difficulties in a quiet and friendly way.

The death of Caroline Wallace is a great loss to social work in Chicago. She was still young—"the shadows still were falling toward the west"—and her many friends outside the Unemployment Relief Service join with her field and office workers in deep regret over this sudden end to a useful and promising career. Alice Irwin was much younger and relatively new in social work, but she had done very good work for one so young and inexperienced; and it was indeed stark tragedy that met her at the threshold of her eager, useful life.

An earlier tragedy had overtaken the Unemployment Relief Service during the Christmas holidays, on the extreme South Side of Chicago in the Harvey office. Seven of the young workers, two of them case-workers, were caught by a swift Canadian Express that had been many hours delayed by a Canadian passenger wreck, a typical "grade-crossing accident" that destroyed the car and all of the passengers. A winter blizzard and zero temperature had made driving difficult, and the case-work aide who was bringing several of the workers with him to the office in the morning was driving with the windows covered with frost when the Express suddenly dashed unexpectedly from around a bad corner over a grade crossing. The two young case-workers, Marian Cory Riggs and Hope Norris Hines, were members of the professional group and had been students in the School of Social Service. Mrs. Riggs (Marian Cory), daughter of a distinguished Colorado educator and the niece of United States Senator Costigan, still had the youthful freshness and vigor of her western mountains; but like many other attractive young college women who have led very sheltered and comfortable lives before they prepare for professional service, she had been quick to adjust to the many demands of a metropolitan relief office in mid-winter and eager to respond to the varied calls that are made on the resourcefulness and devotion of the case-work staff in such an office. Marian Cory had spent all of last year as a graduate stu-

dent at the School of Social Service. And Hope Hines had been there as recently as last spring. These workers were, like Alice Irwin, young and inexperienced in this new public service, but they were eager to serve and full of enthusiasm for their work and they had shown themselves to be workers of real promise. They had begun their new work with splendid courage and with kindly interest in their new clients, and they had carried very gallantly the heavy case loads which had been allotted to them.

Social workers in all parts of the country will want to join with the editors of the *Review* in extending deep sympathy to the families and friends of the workers who were taken by these two unexpected tragedies, and they will wish also to extend their sympathy to Mrs. Edwina Meaney Lewis, director of the Unemployment Relief Service, and her many young workers who carried on with such quiet self-control in the face of these sudden and almost overwhelming disasters.

*"The Excellent Becomes the Permanent."*

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### THREE MEDICAL RELIEF DECISIONS

Two interesting decisions regarding medical relief have recently come from the Supreme Court of Nebraska—*Burnham v. Lincoln County*, December, 1934, and *Miller v. Banner County*, October, 1934. These decisions are self-explanatory and need no comment other than the comments that have been made on the old "pauper law" system many times before in this *Review*.<sup>1</sup> A third medical relief decision of some interest is the California Hospital case—*Regents of University of California v. Johnson*, decided last November.

The Supreme Court opinions in these three cases are given below: *Miller v. Banner County* (Supreme Court of Nebraska, October 9, 1934. Appeal from District Court, Banner County. Judgment for plaintiff affirmed), 256 North Western Reporter 639.

The opinion of the court follows:

This proceeding against Banner county is a prosecution of a claim for services as physician and surgeon performed by plaintiff and appellee for one Clarence Hooley, alleged to be a pauper. This claim was originally filed with the board of county commissioners of Banner county. It was rejected by them and the claimant appealed to the district court for Banner county. Here a jury was waived, and, in a trial to the court, evidence was introduced, on consideration of which findings and judgment for plaintiff were entered. From this determination, and the order of the trial court overruling its motion for a new trial, Banner county appeals. . . .

At the time of the trial Clarence Hooley was 19 years of age. His father was dead. Some time after his father's death, his mother married a man by the name of Murphy, who, in 1929, deserted her and his whereabouts thereafter are unknown. In 1930, after the desertion of the mother by Murphy, the mother and her family, of which Clarence was a member, were residing in Gering, Nebraska. In October of that year the entire family embarked in a Ford automobile and started for Oregon, intending to there establish their new home. They proceeded as far as Cheyenne, Wyoming, and then turned back by reason of a storm. Mrs. Hooley and her family then stopped in Kimball, Nebraska, and afterwards they started north and had reached Banner county when a storm again overtook them. The family, including Clarence, sought refuge in

<sup>1</sup> See, especially, "Abolish the Pauper Laws," by E. Abbott, in this *Review*, VIII (March, 1934), 1-16.

an abandoned sod house. Later the owner thereof, in a spirit of charity, gave them permission to live in this sod house without paying rent.

The family continued to occupy this place as their home until in April, 1932. After the family settled down in Banner county in 1930 they worked at husking corn for various neighbors, and at other farm employment, and thus managed to support themselves until about Christmas time. After Christmas the family were in regular course given county aid through commissioner Blake of Banner county. The family appeared to be able to support themselves during the summer, when there was work, but during the winter months it was necessary for them to receive aid, which Banner county supplied.

During this time Clarence Hooley worked at various places. He brought his wages home to the family, deducting only enough for necessary expenses, and he stayed at home when he was out of work. Commissioner Blake interested himself in the family, and personally took Clarence out in 1932 to secure employment. Later the boy got a job with one George Everson for a salary of \$5 a month and his board and room.

It appears reflected in the evidence that the Hooley or Murphy family had neither credit nor means during the time they lived in Banner county, and each winter the county furnished the family with aid. When a sister of Clarence Hooley became ill in the winter of 1932 the county of Banner furnished medical aid for her. During the period that followed the occupancy of the abandoned sod house by the family Clarence worked intermittently wherever employment was available; sometimes for wages, and sometimes for board and lodging. He returned home during seasons of nonemployment.

It also appears that Clarence Hooley had several attacks of appendicitis, the first of which occurred when he was working for commissioner Blake of Banner county. On this occasion Mr. Blake brought him back to the family home where he remained until he had recovered. The second attack occurred in the spring of 1932, and he was taken by Mr. Everson, his employer, to the office of Dr. A. L. Miller, claimant, in Kimball, Nebraska, on April 1, 1932. The doctor examined him and diagnosed his ailment as appendicitis, and then called up county commissioner Blake regarding the matter. The evidence of the doctor is that commissioner Blake replied that "he knew the boy"; that "the county had been taking care of the family"; and that "he was only one of the commissioners, but if the boy needed attention he would have to be taken care of."

The case turned to the worse, and in the early morning of the following day Clarence was again brought to Dr. Miller, and placed in the hospital at Kimball. At that time the boy had developed a ruptured appendix and an immediate operation was an absolute necessity. The following conversation then occurred between Dr. Miller and commissioner Blake:

Q. And where did that conversation take place? A. In my office. I called him on the telephone, both him and Mr. Johnson (another county commissioner of Banner county).



*Q.* And what was your conversation with Mr. Blake at that time? *A.* I told him the boy was brought back to the hospital . . . and he had a ruptured appendix; he was very ill and he would have to be operated on. Mr. Blake said, "He has to be taken care of; you go ahead and take care of him the best you can." I told him he was the county commissioner up there and I felt the boy lived in Banner county, it was their charge and that the hospital and doctor wasn't able to carry the entire load. I was expecting to operate on him and send them the bill.

The doctor also called county commissioner Johnson, and the following conversation took place:

*Q.* And what course of action—you mentioned about calling Mr. Johnson, the county commissioner? *A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* What was your conversation with him? *A.* I told him about the boy being in on the day before and he was brought back this morning; that he conversed with Mr. Blake and wanted the county to O.K. the bill. He said, "Well, he is over in Blake's neighborhood," and he thought maybe the boy could pay his own bill. Before we operate on him, I would have to wait until the commissioners met. And I told him that somebody would be paying for a funeral bill at that time, if you are going to wait for the commissioners to meet, the boy would be dead, and I would operate on him and give him the necessary medical attention.

While the boy was in the hospital the Hooley family moved to Kimball county with commissioner Blake's assistance. Further, it may be said at this time, in addition to necessary clothing, the possessions of Clarence Hooley amounted to the sum of \$3.10.

Thereupon Dr. Miller removed the ruptured appendix and thereafter cared for Clarence with such success that he fully recovered. Then the doctor submitted his itemized bill for those services performed as a claim against Banner county. This bill recited:

Kimball, Nebraska. April 19, 1932. The county of Banner, to Kimball Hospital and A. L. Miller, M.D. Dr. To care of Clarence Hooley and Board of Health. April 2, 1932 to April 18—16 days hospital at \$4.50—\$72; operating room—\$10; anesthetic and dressings—\$15; Dr. Miller's fee for operation—\$75 (this is one half the usual fee).

This claim the board rejected, and the district court allowed.

In the present instance we have a case of an emergency, where an immediate operation was necessary for the saving of human life. No county physician appears in the picture, and the county board has wholly failed to provide the essentials of the necessary care that common humanity requires. Obviously, under these circumstances, the rule our statutory provisions imply and the history of poor relief in all jurisdictions sustains governs, viz., that in cases of emergency a physician should, if reasonably possible, attempt to communicate with the proper corporate authorities charged with the care of the poor, but if an arbitrary refusal is given, or if such corporate authorities be noncommittal, the necessary services may be rendered notwithstanding, and the law imposes an obligation upon the county to pay the reasonable value of such services. . . .

In the present case it is no objection that the services were rendered in the adjoining county of Kimball. . . .

The only real questions presented by this record are: (1) Was Clarence Hooley a pauper? (2) Did he have a settlement as such in Banner county?

The rule of the common law of England is laid down by Blackstone as follows: "In legitimate children, though the place of birth be prima facie the settlement, yet it is not conclusively so; for there are settlements by parentage, being the settlement of one's father or mother." 1 *Cooley's Blackstone* (3d ed.) 361.

So, the rule appears generally accepted that an unemancipated child whose father is dead takes the settlement of its mother by derivation. 48 C. J. 485; *Inhabitants of Town of Bozrah v. Town of Stonington*, 4 Conn. 373; *Town of Torrington v. Town of Norwich*, 21 Conn. 543; *Treasurer & Receiver General v. City of Boston*, 255 Mass. 499, 152 N.E. 37; *Stilwell v. Kennedy*, 51 Hun, 114, 5 N.Y.S. 407; *Burrell Township v. Pittsburg Guardians of Poor*, 62 Pa. 472, 1 Am. Rep. 441; *Town of Bethel v. Town of Tunbridge*, 13 Vt. 445.

The authorities also sustain the principle that the absence of Clarence Hooley from home, as required by his work, was wholly ineffectual to effect his "settlement," as that term is employed in the poor laws; and it continued as a member of his mother's family in Banner county.

It can hardly be contended that Clarence Hooley, in view of his entire history, when suffering from this attack of appendicitis, was not a "pauper" within the meaning of the poor laws of our state. This term may be defined as follows: A pauper is a person who shall be unable to earn a livelihood in consequence of any bodily infirmity, who is without means, and who is without kindred of sufficient ability to support him. (Comp. St. 1929, sec. 68-101.)

In other words, we are satisfied, in view of the findings of the trial court, that the present case was one of emergency, and that Clarence Hooley was a pauper having his settlement in Banner county.

The judgment of the trial court allowing the claim in suit is therefore correct, and the same is  
Affirmed.

*Burnham v. Lincoln County* (Supreme Court of Nebraska, December 7, 1934), 257 North Western Reporter 491.

The opinion of the chief justice was as follows:

These two causes were consolidated and tried together in the district court. In the first Frank A. Burnham sued for \$75 and was given a judgment for \$60, and in the second Frank A. Burnham, doing business as Arnold Hospital, sued for \$95 and was given a judgment for that amount.

The basis of the first cause is an operation on Bennie Hopkins and that of the second his hospitalization. Both services were rendered at Arnold, in the northwest corner of Custer county. The patient resided in the northeastern part of Lincoln county.

The patient was 16 years old. He lived with his father and other children, rent free, in a house belonging to John H. Miller. His mother was dead. The father, C. L. Hopkins, had received \$20 a month during the summer, but was out of work. The family was aided by the Red Cross. They might be said to be destitute. The evidence shows they had no means with which to pay for the services of a physician.

C. L. Hopkins had no car. Early in the morning of November 26, 1932, he solicited Mr. Miller to take Bennie to a doctor in Arnold and Miller's daughter took him with his father and two brothers. When Dr. Burnham examined him he had been vomiting, had a temperature of 97, a very slow pulse, a hard rigid abdomen, and symptoms of great pain. These signs indicated a rupture of some kind of the alimentary tract and suggested an immediate operation. Dr. Dunn gave the anaesthetic. It was discovered that the abdomen was full of fluid and food particles floating free. A hole about the diameter of a lead pencil was found about an inch above the lower opening of the stomach through which the food was escaping into the abdominal cavity. There was a great deal of inflammation. Peritonitis had already set in. The opening in the stomach was closed, the abdomen was cleaned, and a rubber tube was inserted for drainage. The patient's condition was very grave. It was not known for 36 hours whether he would survive. A nurse stayed with him constantly during that period. After that he had the usual hospital attention. Pneumonia set in and lasted a week. He was in the hospital three weeks.

The claim before the county commission for the operation was \$75 because that is the fee allowed in Custer county in such cases. The hospital claim so filed was for \$95. Both were disallowed by the county commissioners of Lincoln county, the appeal therefrom resulting in this action. It was tried to the court, jury being waived. The district court found that Bennie Hopkins was a pauper within the meaning of the statutes and a resident of Lincoln county. There can be no dispute about this finding. The court cut the claim for the operation to \$60 because that was the amount conventionally allowed by Lincoln county for abdominal operations. The claim for hospital services was allowed for \$95 as pleaded. The evidence shows both amounts to be reasonable.

No authorization for the operation or hospital services was secured by plaintiff. There was no time for that. The condition of the patient was critical and the necessity for immediate operation was emergent. The boy was already suffering severely from the shock. To have refused the operation and to have Miss Miller to drive him to a hospital at North Platte (a much greater distance from the home than to Arnold) would have caused much more food to "have been shaken out of the stomach; the operation would have been delayed that much more, and the shock would have been increased." As the doctor put it, "That simply isn't done" where it is "suspected the patient has a rupture." The ethical, the professional, the humane, the conventional thing is to operate at once.

Under the statutes it would have been the duty of the authorities of Lincoln county to provide the necessary medical services for the patient in their own county. On the authority of *Miller v. Banner County*, 127 Neb. —, 256 N.W. 639, it would have been the duty of the county authorities of Lincoln county to have authorized the operation and hospitalization of this patient in Custer county. After the services were rendered the board of county commissioners refused their consent by disallowing reasonable bills for these services. The refusal was, in the rather unusual circumstances, arbitrary. In the *Miller Case*, above cited, we said: "In an emergency requiring an operation to save the life of a pauper, the surgeon should, if reasonably possible, attempt to communicate with the proper corporate authorities charged with the care of the poor, but if an arbitrary refusal is given, or if such corporate authorities be noncommittal, the necessary services may be rendered notwithstanding, and the law imposes an obligation upon the county to pay the reasonable value of such services."

It makes no difference that the emergency operation was performed in another county. As applied to the instant case, the rule may be stated in these words: "In an emergency requiring an operation to save the life of a pauper, the surgeon should, if reasonably possible, attempt to communicate with the proper authorities charged with the care of the poor, but, if the emergency demanding immediate operation be exigent, the necessary services may be rendered, and the law imposes an obligation upon the county to pay the reasonable value of such services."

The judgment of the district court is affirmed.

*Regents of University of California v. Johnson* (District Court of Appeal, Third District, California, November 13, 1934), 37 Pacific Reporter (2d series) 473.

The opinion of the court follows:

The auditor of San Joaquin county has appealed from a judgment directing a writ of mandamus to issue commanding him to draw a warrant on the treasury of that county in payment of a claim for \$110.95 which was previously allowed by the board of supervisors for hospital services furnished by the petitioner at the request of the board. It is asserted that the claim is illegal and that there is no authority of law to pay it from the county treasury.

F. H. Johnson is the auditor of San Joaquin county. The county maintains a general hospital at Stockton. Letha Patrick was an indigent person who resided in that county. Miss Patrick was taken to the hospital for treatment for a brain abscess. It became necessary to perform an operation to preserve her life. The San Joaquin Hospital lacked adequate facilities for a proper performance of the operation. The board of supervisors authorized the sending of this patient to the University of California Hospital at San Francisco for the performance of the operation. The last-mentioned hospital was fully equipped to perform the operation, and did so at the request of the board of supervisors of San Joaquin

county. A claim for \$110.95 for this service was presented to the board of supervisors and allowed. This claim was then presented to the auditor, who refused to pay it on the ground that it was an illegal claim not authorized by law. Upon application to the superior court of San Joaquin county, based upon the foregoing facts, a demurrer to the petition for a writ of mandamus was overruled and ten days were allowed the auditor in which to answer. The auditor refused to answer, and a judgment by default was thereupon rendered against him, in which it was ordered that a writ of mandamus issue directing him to draw his warrant upon the treasury of that county in payment of the claim. From that judgment, the auditor has appealed.

We are of the opinion the board of supervisors of the county of San Joaquin is not authorized by law to incur an obligation against the county for hospital or surgical services in behalf of an indigent person who resides in that county, to be furnished by a hospital outside of the county.

The authority of a board of supervisors to contract with a hospital for the care of indigent persons in emergency cases is confined by the provisions of section 4041.16 of the Political Code to "hospitals in the county or city and county" of which the board has jurisdiction. That section provides in part:

(1) Under such limitations and restrictions as are prescribed by law, and in addition to jurisdiction and powers otherwise conferred, the boards of supervisors, in their respective counties, shall have the jurisdiction and powers to provide for the care and maintenance of the indigent sick or dependent poor of the county, and for that purpose to levy the necessary property or poll taxes, or both; provided, that a suitable graduate or graduates in medicine shall be appointed to attend to such indigent sick or dependent poor in the county hospitals and almshouses; provided, further, that the board shall not let the care, maintenance, or attendance of such indigent sick or dependent poor by contract to any person; except that the board shall be authorized and empowered to secure by agreement for the needy sick and dependent and partially dependent citizens in cases of emergency, hospital care . . . from persons, firms and corporations then and there maintaining and operating hospitals in the county or city and county. . . .

The foregoing statute is an express limitation on the power of the board to contract for the medical care of its indigent sick persons with "hospitals in the county." The statute specifically prohibits the board from letting "the care, maintenance, or attendance of such indigent sick," by contract to any institution "except . . . hospitals in the county." Even without the express prohibition against contracts for the care of the indigent sick with other institutions, on the doctrine of *expressio unius est exclusio alterius*, the authorization for the board to make such contracts with hospitals in the county, by necessary implication, excludes the right to make contracts with hospitals outside of the county. . . . There may be good reason for this limitation. Otherwise the board might exercise its discretion in an emergency case by sending the patient to the Mayo Hospital in Minnesota, or elsewhere, because it assumed that better professional services might thereby be procured. It is suggested that in the interest of charity a liberal construction of the statute should prevail. Charity is commendable,

but it should not be conferred at the expense of others over whose funds the donors have no legal control.

The respondent in this proceeding contends that the authority for the board to incur this expense may be found in the Pauper's Act of California . . . and in section 4307 of the Political Code. Neither of these last mentioned provisions authorizes a board to contract for the care of indigent sick, in emergency cases or otherwise, with institutions outside of its own county. These statutes must be read together with section 4041.16, of the Political Code, which limits the authority to contract for services and care of the indigent sick to hospitals in the county. The Pauper's Act provides in that regard:

Every county and every city and county shall relieve and support all pauper, incompetent, poor, indigent persons and those incapacitated by age, disease, or accident, lawfully resident therein, when such persons are not supported and relieved by their relatives or friends, or by their own means, or by state hospitals or other state or private institutions. Section 1.

Section 4307, subd. 7, of the Political Code, upon which the respondent relies, provides that:

The following are county charges: . . .

7. The necessary expenses incurred in the support of the county hospitals, almshouses, and the indigent sick and otherwise dependent poor, whose support is chargeable to the county. The board of supervisors may, in its discretion, authorize the payment of expenses incurred, by county authorities, for temporary, emergency, or extended care or treatment of indigent patients of such county, by local hospitals.

There is nothing in either of the two statutes last mentioned which, by implication or otherwise, extends the authority of the board of supervisors to contract for the care of indigent sick persons with institutions outside of the county. The Pauper's Act merely provides that a county shall care for its indigent poor and sick inhabitants. Section 4307 of the Political Code also limits the authority of the board to contract for the care or treatment of temporary emergency cases only with "local hospitals." The reading of these last-mentioned statutes, together with section 4041.16 of the Political Code, confirms the imperative conclusion that a board of supervisors has no power to contract for the care of the indigent sick with any hospital outside of its county. The claim against the county of San Joaquin was therefore unauthorized and illegal. It was the duty of the auditor to refuse to draw his warrant in payment of this illegal claim.

The judgment is reversed.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Employment Exchange Service of Great Britain.* By T. S. CHEGWIDDEN and G. MYRDDIN-EVANS. With Foreword by the RT. HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, C.H., M.P. New York: Industrial Relations Counselors, Incorporated, 1934. Pp. xv+310. \$3.50.

Great Britain has operated a nation-wide system of public employment exchanges since 1909. This account of British experience in the field of employment service is of great interest to American readers at this time. The functioning of the present system merits particular attention, because we are now endeavoring to build in this country a permanent federal-state employment service which will operate in such efficient manner as to merit public support and the confidence of both employers and workers. Moreover, interest has again been stimulated in public employment offices by recent consideration of unemployment insurance as an important factor in the Economic Security Program. Proponents of various forms of unemployment reserves are virtually unanimous in their insistence that such unemployment insurance be administered through an effective, co-ordinated system of public employment offices.

Concerning the objectives of the British employment exchanges, the Honorable Winston Churchill says in his Foreword to this book:

The objects of the bill . . . were to secure the more efficient organization of the labour market, to increase the mobility of labour and, in the words of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws which presented its report in 1909, to mitigate "the misery of tramping after problematical work," and last, but not least, to constitute machinery indispensable to the proper administration of a system of unemployment insurance.

The authors, who speak with authority, since they are members of the administrative staff of the British Employment Service, divide their material into three parts: first, a statistical survey of the unemployment problem faced by the employment exchanges; second (the major part), a descriptive analysis of placement and employment work; and third, a presentation of the function of the employment service in the administration of unemployment insurance.

An American reader cannot fail to be impressed by the wealth of statistical data which the employment exchanges have made available in Great Britain. Definite knowledge of the ramifications of the problems of unemployment has been of inestimable value in laying constructive plans for a national approach to their solution.

The description of placement work carries many positive suggestions, but it also implies certain cautions. Much of the social value of a public employment



service to an entire nation lies in the close co-ordination of labor supply and demand between different occupations and between different geographic sections. Considerable success has been achieved in Great Britain in increasing labor mobility through an efficient and speedy clearance system. The use of the British employment exchange system in programs for training and transferring workers marooned in permanently depressed industries indicates similar possibilities inherent in our American public employment system. On the other hand, it is shown that decasualization of employment, such as dock labor, is impossible without some means of controlling the number of workers who look to such employment for their living.

It may be disconcerting to those Americans who would like to see the public employment service occupy a monopolistic position in the employment market to learn that after twenty-five years of continuously effective operation, the British exchanges fill slightly less than one quarter of all openings occurring in industry. Perhaps this is indicative of what may be expected here.

Two features in the methods of placement seem strange in the light of our present tendencies in this country. Development of specialized employment services for workers in related occupations and industries seems to have been very slight and very slow. There has been surprisingly little importance attached to privacy in employment interviews.

Messrs. Chegwiddden and Myrddin-Evans are to be commended on the clarity of their description of the placement process. But persons interested in the administration of employment offices will wish that more had been said concerning the control and direction of the British service.

The account of the administration of unemployment insurance is presented in remarkably brief form in view of the complexity of this work. Two points are of especial interest: first, the principle of selecting for each vacancy the best qualified applicant definitely limits the function of the employment service to ascertain whether or not the applicant for employment insurance is willing to work; and second, the administration of insurance showed, early in its development, the impossibility of decentralization of insurance records. It soon became necessary to bring these records together in one huge accounting office in London.

All persons interested in the development of public employment services owe a debt of gratitude to Industrial Relations Counselors, Incorporated, for presenting this volume, the first in a series of studies of public employment services and unemployment insurance in foreign countries. The second volume, dealing with the German system and written by Dr. Oscar Weigart, will be received with interest.

W. FRANK PERSONS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

*Unemployment and Relief.* By ROBERT C. ELBERT. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934. Pp. 136. \$1.00.

*Glen's Law Relating to Unemployment Assistance.* By E. BRIGHT ASHFORD assisted by ALEXANDER P. L. GLEN. London: Law & Local Government Publications, Ltd., 1934. Pp. 176. 5s.

*Unemployment Relief: The Basic Problem.* By E. F. STEVENSON. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1934. Pp. 284. 5s. 5d.

Mr. Elbert, the author of the small book on *Unemployment and Relief*, is described by the publishers as a man who "has been long recognized as an authority on banking and finance." He has served as a member of the Industrial Advisory Board and is a member of the Business Advisory and Planning Council of the Department of Commerce. Quite appropriately, he comes from New York City; and in his Preface explains that he is "accustomed to looking at human activities" from the point of view of a business man. Incidentally, he is "convinced that the mismanagement of the Federal Reserve banks had more to do with the real cause of the present depression" than any other single factor. His opinion of trade-unions is also significant. As a rule, he says, "they are uncompromising, inflexible organizations with but a single aim—and that is, to get all the juice that can be squeezed out of the orange. . . . Labor unions insist that all members of the same union receive the same pay. . . . The conduct of labor unions in this respect is simply stupid" (p. 10). Any comment on these statements is unnecessary.

Mr. Elbert explains that he uses the term "unemployment insurance" because this term "is generally accepted and understood"; but he believes that "there is really no such thing as unemployment insurance if we accept the word 'insurance' according to its definition by insurance companies." His reason for this is that he believes that "insurance can be applied only to future hazards which have an actuarial basis of probability so clearly defined that it is possible to predict their occurrence and extent with reasonable accuracy."

In the chapter on "The Nature of Unemployment Insurance" the author describes unemployment insurance as nothing more than "a spreading out of the industrial wage bill" so that "the limited interruptions of earning power to which most wage-earners are exposed will be covered by benefits or payments to the unemployed which will represent a certain proportion of the wages or salaries that they could earn under normal conditions." He then insists that "this implies a reserve fund which is built up by definitely fixed contributions from both the employer and the worker; or (as in England) by the employer, the worker, and the state; or by the employer alone [he might have added "as in Wisconsin"]; or by the worker alone through trade unions or associations." But Mr. Elbert should have added "or by the state alone" or "by the employer and the state." In the United States, workers should surely not be made to contribute to a re-

serve fund to pay "the wages or salaries that they would earn under normal conditions." The wage bill should be paid by the employer.

The greater part of the opposition to unemployment insurance in this country comes, Mr. Elbert thinks, from manufacturers and their associations, and from their attorneys. Mr. Elbert is reassuring as far as they are concerned, for he believes that "the percentage contribution of the employer to any plan that has a chance of being adopted will be very light and in any event, he will pass it on to the public by raising slightly the price of his product, so it will cost him nothing in the end. So why fall into a rage?" That is, Mr. Elbert follows the New York theory of wanting to make the worker pay for his unemployment compensation by direct contributions and then by indirect contributions for higher prices that will reimburse the employer for the share that he is supposed to pay.

Miss Bright Ashford, the competent English lawyer who was one of the authors of *Glen's Law Relating to Public Assistance*,<sup>1</sup> has added a very useful new volume, a legal analysis of the second half of the 1934 Unemployment Act—that is, the part of the 1934 Act which deals with "Unemployment Assistance." In the earlier volume Mr. Glen and Miss Ashford showed that the arrangements then existing were temporary with regard to the so-called "transitional payments" for the unemployed who had exhausted their claim on the fund provided by the compulsory contributions to which they were subjected. The new scheme set up in the second half of the 1934 Act deals with the problem quite differently. Part I of the Act deals with contributory insurance only. Part II, which is called "Unemployment Assistance," provides for a new method of "transitional benefits." This is, in effect, a new form of public assistance much more in accord with modern thinking about the rights of the employed man than the archaic poor law methods. In Part II of the Act England has in effect rewritten her poor law (legally called "Public Assistance" since 1930) in so far as it applies to the unemployed group. The great basic change is that assistance is given the unemployed who are above the line of complete destitution. In assessing the needs of an unemployed man the Unemployment Assistance Committee is directed to disregard the following resources: the first \$125 of savings and the first \$125 of home ownership; and to take a more generous view of "that most baffling question of relief": earnings of members of the family and how much the individual may use for himself and how much must be counted as family income.

These new "unemployment benefits," which are not based on the insurance contributions and are granted after a "means test" has been satisfied, may be used: (1) to supplement insurance; (2) to supplement part-time earnings. But unemployment benefits may never be used to supplement full-time earnings.

Persons eligible to the new unemployment benefits, however, must be persons who have every reason to *expect employment*. That is, the statutory provi-

<sup>1</sup> See this *Review*, VIII (September, 1934), 559, for a review of *Glen's Public Assistance*.

sion roughly defines them as persons who qualify as eligible for the most inclusive of the British social insurance schemes (the Widows' Orphans' and Old Age Contributory Insurance).

Left out of this new unemployment-benefits scheme, as they are left out of all contributory insurance schemes, are persons who are employed on their own account—the small tradesmen, peddlers, newspaper-venders, and farmers. However, the unemployment benefits are more inclusive than unemployment insurance, since farm laborers and domestic servants who are unemployed are eligible for consideration by the new Unemployment Assistance Committees.

The question of administration of the new act is interesting to American students. The new Unemployment Assistance Board is a national central authority—a new “Department of State,” with a former cabinet minister already appointed to be its head (Lord Betterton). However, he is *not* made a cabinet minister because he must be “out of politics.” The new Board is expected to employ a staff of six thousand “regional and area” employees, called in the statute “officers,” following the English poor-law terminology. (In America, where we prefer “social workers” to “relieving officers,” the new staff would be a “staff of social workers.”)

Local Advisory Committees will be appointed for each “area” composed of local men and women of experience in problems of public assistance. Local Appeals Tribunals are also provided for, and are to consist of a workers' representative, a representative nominated by the Unemployment Assistance Board, and an impartial chairman appointed by the Minister of Labour.

The further comment to be made here is that Americans would like all relief provisions changed and any of the so-called “unemployables” given a more dignified form of public aid before the rock-bottom of destitution is reached.

Professor Stevenson's book gives a historical background for the whole subject of the treatment of the unemployed under the English poor law of the nineteenth century. This is a useful statement by a competent economist.

EDITH ABBOTT

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*The Decline of Employment in the 1930-1931 Depression; An Analysis of Three Unemployment Surveys in St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Duluth; and A New Plan for Unemployment Reserves.* By ALVIN H. HANSEN and OTHERS. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Pp. 34; 19; 75.

The first two publications listed above, bulletins of the Employment Stabilization Research Institute, are part of the general project of investigation of employment and unemployment in the three cities. The first study analyzes employment for the three-year period, 1929-31, with data secured from month-by-month reports of pay-roll figures by firms chosen as samples of industries of various types and sizes in those cities. The rate of decline in employment is shown.

Slight increases are registered in a few groups, but heavy declines in others. In some cases these declines in employment occurred in industries suffering no great decrease in volume of business. The data show where decline has occurred continuously and where there has been subsequent rise in employment. They show variations in rate of decline according to size of industry and according to whether non-durable, consumers', or capital goods are produced. They indicate that reduction in employment was cumulative. On the basis of the census of 1930, approximately one-fourth of the employee class in Minneapolis and Duluth, and one-sixth to one-fifth in St. Paul were probably out of work in the winter of 1931-32.

The second study gives a general account of unemployed persons unable to work and looking for a job, discovered by three independent surveys of the unemployed in the three cities. This is preliminary to a study based upon case histories: educational, personality, ability, and aptitude tests and medical histories of 3,766 unemployed and 1,497 employed persons who have passed through the "clinic" established by the Institute. The brochure covers duration of unemployment; length of employment in last position; reasons for unemployment; age, occupational, industrial and sex distribution; education; marital status, dependents, and number out of work in family; housing status; whether in receipt of pension; and certain aspects of civic status—residence in the cities, whether registered voters, and whether ex-service men. The major conclusions, briefly summarized, offer an extremely interesting picture of the group.

*A New Plan for Unemployment Reserves* attempts through a waiting period of eight, or for seasonal workers perhaps sixteen, weeks and through a "four to one" rule to provide unemployment benefits for a longer period than usual. It recommends compulsory payment by both employers and workers of 2 per cent of wages. It wisely omits attempting risk classifications for premium payment. The funds are to be allocated by the state treasurer to separate industrial reserves, and benefits are to be paid if there are funds to the credit of those reserves. Self-insurance by large industries is to be permitted.

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*The Treatment of Poverty in Cambridgeshire, 1597-1834.* By E. M. HAMPSON. (Cambridge Studies in Economic History.) London: Cambridge University Press, 1934. Pp. xx+308. 15s.

*Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century.* By J. D. CHAMBERS, PH.D. London: P. S. King & Son, 1932. Pp. viii+377. 15s.

Local responsibility for the poor under the English parochial system is described by Miss Hampson in her study of Cambridgeshire, where "the small rural community of several hundred inhabitants formed the typical parish." Each parish was an independent local authority for poor-relief administration,

and the university town itself was divided into fourteen small parishes. But, at that time, local responsibility could be explained in large measure as the result of isolation. Means of communication were "notoriously bad through the fenland county of Cambridge," and village life was extremely isolated. "Intervening swamps prevented more formal and effective union of wider areas."

It is significant that Miss Hampson thinks the system of local instead of national relief was always a mistake. The Tudor and Stuart monarchs and their advisers had, it is true, recognized the problem of destitution as a national problem; but with the administrative responsibility left to the minor local authorities, the system was soon inadequate, and "the evils accompanying workhouse schemes, settlement policies, apprenticeship and allowances were the miserable outcomes of throwing upon petty localities the whole expense of a malady which was essentially national." There was "a marked reluctance" on the part of the local taxpayers to bear the expense of supporting the unemployed.

Providing work was, of course, the most difficult of all the poor-law responsibilities which the unsalaried, unspecialized overseers were expected to carry. Smaller villages encouraged unemployed men to wander into the better-equipped parishes, and after the outbreak of the Civil War, work was rarely available even in these.

In the light of present-day concern about programs of relief and work relief, Miss Hampson's Cambridgeshire study is a really absorbing narrative of past experience in dealing with human misery, often told in terms of individual need and how that need was, or was not, met. Here is the story of the infamous system of caring for the poor by "farming out" the parish charges to the lowest bidder (with "also Lunatics and Refractory Poor taken in at per Head per Week"), and realistic pictures of the misery that is still with us—inventories of "pauper's goods," bastardy proceedings, the indenturing of "pauper children" more than a century before Dickens exposed the hateful system in his immortal tale of a workhouse boy named *Oliver Twist*.

There was supplementing of the low wages of the period, as in the case of Bridiman, a poor man "overburdened with children," who was allowed small sums varying from two pence to five shillings, depending on the amount he earned. There is the doctor who was to "have 3 pounds for the cutting of ye Legg of old Bennitt and in case he make a perfect cure of it, then to have it made up to Five pounds of Parish money." There is Dr. Davis, who was "to have 3 pounds for the curing of Winterton of his fitts" and to be paid "3 months after ye cure be perfected and if he make no cure to have nothing either for judgment or medicines." There is the story of Mary Flack, who was paid the sum of six shillings a year to take care of William Wrosum, who worked a week and then "lay bad four days" and whose family were "all most starved naked"; William Rawlinson, who was "almost naked and afflicted with ye Rhumatism," and whose family were so miserable that even the overseer reports "my heart is wrung for them"; Widow Dockrill, "poor and overcharged with children," given

one shilling a week; and "Taberson's wife overcharged with children and husband run away."

Case-recording began at an early date. In 1601 it was pointed out that "the statute enjoyneth a book of record to be kept, that the names, numbers, and necessities of the poore may be seene," but the injunction was by no means always observed at this date. Thus did the vicar of Sawston, in 1617, incompletely summarize and enter on the records the accounts kept by an illiterate overseer on loose scraps of paper which were then apparently destroyed.

The employment of children was an early method of relieving the poor rates, and was readily justified as a valuable method of disciplining youth. Child labor was accepted as desirable, and "pauper children" were apprenticed "very timely" at the age of seven. "Part of the town bridewell was transformed into a School of Industry, and some fourteen to twenty children were set to work there." Yarn spun by the parish children was sold to a wool-dealer for a low price. John Locke, the philosopher, thought that the child could not too soon become a wage-earner, "settled into good habits and the principles of virtue and wisdom"; and Mandeville urged that men who were "to remain and end their days in a laborious, tiresome, and painful station of life, the sooner they are put upon it at first the more patiently will they submit to it forever after." There was Elizabeth Hudson, an orphan child of "feeble frame and very slender make"; the overseer reports that he hopes "in a year or twos time she will be able to get her bread." Elizabeth Smith, the "idiot girl of 13," occasionally earned four pence for a day's household drudgery. And here are the tales of downtrodden, apprenticed children; as in the case of "Richard Stubbing, a tailor of West Wickham, who was summoned before the Bench in 1670 for 'having much abused Jeremiah Taversham, his apprentice, by immoderate beating and not allowing unto him necessary meate, drinke, and cloaths.'"

The excellent Nottingham study by J. D. Chambers also throws light on the failure of local responsibility, and the author clearly points to "the folly of basing a national system of poor relief upon the independent action of thousands of separate authorities." There is also evidence assembled from the Nottinghamshire records of the failure of work-relief programs—which were "vitiating by the ineradicable delusion that pauperism, if properly managed, could be made to pay."

At the time when stringent settlement regulations were added in 1662, the chief social problem—the problem of destitution—was a cause of widespread concern, amounting at times to panic. "The Justices and parish officers were caught up in the net of Settlement, and it was drawn round them by the ineluctable pressure of the poor rate. Everybody was interested in Settlement because everybody was interested in poor rates."

The poor suffered from the cruel punishments of the time. Here, for example, are three mothers of illegitimate—and destitute—children. What happened to the fathers of the children is not recorded. But it was "ordered by the Court that Susanna Tate Ruth Blackston and Mary Beresford who have lately been



delivered of Bastard Children now chargeable to the parish of St. Mary in this Town shall on Wednesday next be tyed in the Ducking Stool at St. Mary's Workhouse after they shall have been whipped at the house of correction and drawn from thence along Stoney Street the High Pavement Bridlesmith Gate and round the Malt Cross and then to the workhouse again."<sup>1</sup>

Early in the nineteenth century private associations were formed for various charitable purposes—"for distributing funds to deserving families, for providing fuel and clothes in winter-time, or free medical attention, and above all, for providing education for the poor"—needs which the governmental organization had not supplied and new voluntary organizations rapidly emerged to meet.

No student of poor-law history can overlook either of these valuable pieces of research.

E. A.

*Theft, Law and Society.* By JEROME HALL. Introduction by K. N. Llewellyn, Betts Professor of Jurisprudence, Columbia University, School of Law. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1935. Pp. xxxv+360. \$3.50.

*The Defendant and Criminal Justice.* By ROSCOE C. MARTIN (University of Texas Bureau of Research in the Social Sciences, Study No. 9). Austin, Texas, 1934. Pp. 264.

*The Family in Court.* By JONAH J. GOLDSTEIN. New York: Clark Boardman Co., 1934. Pp. xiii+284.

The social worker frequently uses the two phrases, the "individualization of treatment" and "the substitution of treatment for punishment in dealing with the person accused of crime." The criminal law during the past six to eight centuries has moved in general toward substituting public punishment for private vengeance in spite of the existence of areas in which either under the "unwritten law" a man avenges his "honor," or, under the domination of the mob, the sub-human passions of cruelty are unleashed and the victims are lynched.

To secure the substitution of treatment for punishment will obviously require, however, the development of whole bodies of resources not now available. An understanding of the offenses for which punishment is now inflicted, of the procedure by which the amount and kind of penalty are determined, and of the conditions out of which the accused and the accusation emerge is essential; on such an understanding may be built eventually a therapeutic treatment. But this presupposes practitioners of fine professional equipment in the psychiatric and social field and a capacity for reorganization and readaptation on the part of the criminal law, of which, so far, it has not shown itself capable. However, studies like *Theft, Law and Society*, coming out of the legal profession, give reason for hope—better reason than the resolutions of the Conference recently held by the United States Attorney-General. This inquiry recognizes the need of an

<sup>1</sup> *Borough Records*, VI, 126; for another case of whipping three women see p. 57.

understanding with reference to this whole field of crime, and makes a contribution to that understanding in connection with a selected field of criminal conduct. That Mr. Hall should select theft is interesting, among other things, because so much attention has been given to stealing by social workers concerned with delinquency. Early studies of juvenile delinquency, for example, devoted much space and thought to this special subject.

The author attaches great importance to the subject of administration in relation to theft and reveals the extent to which the administration modified the attempts of Parliament or of the legislatures to regulate, define, control, or defeat criminal activities.

The kind of stealing, the conditions making it profitable to steal, the proposals for dealing with persons who steal, the effects of the administration of the law upon the substantive law—all of these aspects of the problem are dealt with in a constructive fashion. The social worker will be especially interested in chapter iii on "The Function of Technicality and Discretion in Criminal Law Administration" and in section iii of chapter vi on the "Administration of the Criminal Law and the Social and Legal Problems" connected with the question of automobile theft. The discussion of the possibility of individualizing treatment and the proposals for the reform in treatment of petty larceny are likewise of very great interest. The writer has in mind such attempts at reorganized judicial structure as are embodied in the juvenile court movement and in the "boys' court" or "adolescents' court" movements. He has in mind the discussions of the sociologist, and he has acquainted himself with the researches, for example, of Dr. Healy, as well as with the decisions of the courts and the formulation of statutory remedies. Such contributions as these, from the legal point of view, will certainly facilitate the program of social work, and there is reason to think that such students of the law as Professor Llewellyn and Mr. Hall will welcome the co-operation of the social worker competent to assist in working out a plan of campaign against the deficiencies and wickednesses of criminal law administration.

The writer points out, for example (p. 297), that no such attack as that involved in an attempted individualization can be undertaken "on the whole front at once" but that the "individualization of treatment as to *certain offenders* represents an opportunity for greater utilization of valid knowledge now available in several disciplines." He is willing to assume "that wise judges and trained administrators can be had, not as exceptions, but in decent numbers." He holds, however, that

individualization of treatment would widen the possible range of error. It would provide incompetent persons with means of exercising their stupidity far exceeding the means available under laws which differentiate criminal acts merely in terms of simple objective criteria. With individualization comes, also, the greater need for honest officials.

The value of any suggested reform in treatment is dependent not only upon its soundness but upon its chances of being adopted. These chances increase inversely in proportion to the degree of public indignation and resentment felt with regard to the

various crimes—or criminals. The above discussion disclosed the general area within which it is possible to mitigate or eliminate punishment without upsetting the public “sense of justice.” The entire analysis reveals the technique necessary for further application of individualization, namely, *a progressive utilization of this treatment beginning with the crimes which arouse least public emotion, and ascending from that point only as rapidly as experimentation and an educated public opinion permits.*

The volume should find a cordial reception among those social work students who are concerned for a sound and permanent reform of criminal law administration.

This study by Professor Martin is further evidence of the growing appreciation on the part of students of criminal law administration that the social factors must be seriously considered, if any true advance is to be made in the reform of criminal law and of criminal justice. The study is also an evidence of the influence of Professor Leon C. Marshall and the experimental Institute of Law at Johns Hopkins.

Professor Martin applies to the study of *The Defendant and Criminal Justice* the statistical method. His account of his search for a sample in Texas, of the organization and reorganization of his schedule, of the resulting assembly of a body of data will interest the student of social statistics.

The problems to which he devotes his attention are, in the order in which he discusses them, the race of the defendant; sex; family, from the point of view of marital status, parental relations, and filial opportunities; nativity; residence; age and status as taxpayer; occupation; electoral status; and court history. The order in which these topics are presented is significant. Ordinarily age is the first factor considered, and the fact that persons accused of crime are usually in the early age groups is emphasized. In Texas, however, race seems of greater significance, and this statistical investigation shows, as might be expected, that in general the Anglo-American is the most favored from various points of view, the Negro least favored, with the Mexican and members of other national groups falling in between these extremes.

With reference to sex, Professor Martin finds relatively few women accused, but the woman who does come into the court “is fortunate if she does not become the special object of judicial ire; and in any event she may expect treatment equally severe with that accorded the male” (p. 239)!

It is not, perhaps, necessary to review the other conclusions at which Professor Martin arrives. The volume is a small one and will repay the student of the administration of law or social statistics.

In his discussion of *The Family in Court* Mr. Justice Goldstein, after long experience as City Magistrate in New York, dealing with problems of deserting men, destitute women, and dependent children, urges, first, extension of the co-operative effort on the part of the inferior courts, and, second, the development of psychiatric, medical, and social resources in aid of the courts.

That both the medical and legal professions find it difficult fully to carry out their undertakings without aid of the social worker has been clear to the social

work group since Dr. Richard Cabot published his epoch-making *Social Service and the Art of Healing*, and since Judge Baker, Judge Lindsey, and Judge Julian W. Mack made evident the necessity of social investigation and treatment in dealing with children brought before the criminal courts.

It is very difficult for the social worker to say to members of other professional groups "We think our services essential to your successful accomplishment." To have judge and doctors broadcast their conviction as Justice Goldstein does in this book that they cannot do their work adequately without the assistance of the skilled social case worker is therefore most gratifying.

Justice Goldstein discusses the failure of a blindfolded justice, the functions of the courts in a community social welfare program, and urges the consolidation of the family and children's courts, and discusses on the basis of his experience and his sympathy the need for a changed point of view in the Division of the Children's Courts. He pleads for increased resources in physical and psychiatric service and a much wider co-operation on the part of the court with other than judicial and law-enforcing authorities; he dwells upon the possibilities of the school contributing to crime prevention and indicates the wholesome relationships that should exist between other agencies and police departments. The concentration in one tribunal of jurisdiction over all domestic relations, the establishment, that is, of a true family court, is very much in his mind and heart, and he does not stop until he points out that success in dealing with those brought before the judicial tribunal must be related to intelligence in the matter of marital relationships, and to the provision of social, economic, and domestic resources making possible decent and comfortable family life.

There is contained as an appendix in the volume a copy of the recently enacted Domestic Relations Court Act of the City of New York (*Laws of 1933*, chap. 482).

Since the volume appeared, publicity has been given to the establishment of the "Adolescent's Court," in which Justice Goldstein was greatly interested; and, while his name does not appear among those who shared in the ceremonies connected with its opening, his sympathetic support of that development is evidenced by positive statements in this volume.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

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*The Jails of Virginia: A Study of the Local Penal System.* By FRANK WILLIAM HOFFER, DELBERT MARTIN MANN, and FLOYD NELSON HOUSE. Published for the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, University of Virginia. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1933. Pp. xvi+453. \$5.00.

*Twenty Thousand Years in Sing Sing.* By LEWIS E. LAWES. New York: Ray Long & Richard Smith, 1932. Pp. x+412. \$3.00.

The most recent publication of the University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences deals with the elementary forces in the execution of

the judicial processes in Virginia. In addition to the study of jails and jailers, other elements of the local penal problem are included—the police and magistrates' courts and the office of the sheriff.

From such data as was possible to obtain from the incomplete records of these units as supplemented by a questionnaire, data are gathered concerning the length of sentences to the county and local jails, arrests made, warrants issued, population of the jails, and an analysis of the physical properties of the jails—number of rooms, types of segregation practiced, cubic contents of cells, architectural types, and general physical condition.

Because of the small size of many of the local jails, no segregation of convicted offenders and persons awaiting trial is possible in many instances. The jails are old for the most part, 7 of them dating from the period 1815–25, 63 of the total of 102 being built in 1900 or earlier, 44 being constructed between 1900 and 1925 and only 4 since 1925. These jails are able to afford mass treatment only, under poor conditions of sanitation and fire safety, and deal, in the main, with very short sentences. Another problem shows itself in population capacity: 37 per cent of the Virginia jails in use during 1929–30 had a total admission of less than 100; 58 per cent had 200 or less; 68 per cent had 300 or less; and only 10 per cent had 500 or more. As a direct consequence it was impossible to employ a full-time jailer or a qualified person. Most of the jailers had other duties or employment, the custody of prisoners being only a source of additional income.

Frank Bane, at that time in charge of the State Department of Public Welfare, is quoted as stating that the Department had been unable, in the preceding ten to fifteen years, either to regulate or to modify jail conditions. Recently, legislation was enacted providing for the use of state prison farms for misdemeanants, including one for female offenders. The development of this plan, which the authors urge, together with a direct state control over local jails, must await the availability of funds.

A popular contribution by the Warden of Sing Sing Prison combines bits of the histories of famous and notorious convicts housed there, reports of previous administrators of the institution, the progression in penal discipline as well as the present prison routine, and some autobiographical data. Throughout the book runs the thought of the futility as well as the inhumanity of disciplinary methods in vogue formerly: the cruelty of the silence system, an offshoot of the famous Quaker concept of the place of meditation in a prison program. In so many words, if prisoners were to become penitents, they must have the opportunity to reflect upon the evil of their ways—an opportunity enforced at the point of the lash and salt sponge, dark cells, starvation diets, and the like. Several chapters are devoted to opposition to the death penalty.

In contrast to the foregoing, Warden Lawes expounds the practice of fitting each prisoner into his own niche. For example, Charles E. Chapin, former editor of the *New York World*, who died in Sing Sing, had given up hope of living until he was assigned to the task of beautifying the barren prison yard. His efforts

earned him the title of the "Rose Man of Sing Sing." Several chapters are devoted to the brief stay of "Two-Gun" Crowley prior to his execution for murder. Throughout his career as prison administrator the warden shows the necessity for humanity in treatment of prisoners if they are to be expected to react as normal individuals during their prison terms.

W. ABRAHAM GOLDBERG

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*Training in Psychiatric Social Work at the Institute for Child Guidance, 1927-1933.* By SARAH H. SWIFT. Foreword by LAWSON G. LOWRY. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1934. Pp. xii+177. \$1.75.

Sarah H. Swift, in *Training in Psychiatric Social Work at the Institute for Child Guidance, 1927-33*, has made an objective evaluation of a six-year training experience in a center provided with facilities for experimentation in the methods and techniques involved in the training of psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, and psychiatric social workers.

In the introductory chapter the author reviews changes in concepts of training, portrays the past in which much change has occurred, describes the transitional present, and predicts directions of future growth. The techniques and methods which unfold gradually in subsequent chapters are thus seen as emerging throughout a progressive-growth process rather than as preconceived theory applied rigidly in a relatively static situation. As a result the reader does not derive a set of specific training formulations, applicable for all time to a specialized field, but instead the book contributes a philosophy permeated with certain basic concepts which are relevant to all present-day social case-work training situations. Furthermore, it provides a point of view which, if assimilated and utilized throughout present training practice, would, through contributing to the maturation of social case-workers, wield a constructive influence on future case-work trends.

In order that the reader may be oriented as to the type of situation in which this thinking through of practical training problems was done, the author has devoted chapter ii to a description of the training program. In this chapter she describes the clinical set-up, the types of service, the selection of students, class work in relation to field work, number of students and length of training, integration of student work with the program of the agency, and some vocational aspects of training. In discussing vocational aspects, Miss Swift stresses the fact that the vocational aims of the majority of students were not as a rule clearly defined as to the specific field of social case-work service. In this connection she states: "The emphasis in training then may be said to have been placed in giving the students a background of experience which could be profitably adapted to any field of social case work." Flexibility of attitude on the part of the student as to vocational aim was encouraged "by a staff convinced of the generic

nature of social case work, and of the fact that all work involving relationships with people requires an understanding of the causative factors underlying human reactions."

The discussion of the utilization of case-work material covers many practical problems of concern to every supervisor who is confronted with the reality of reconciling the demands of the agency with the professional development of the student or worker. Likewise the consideration of the training value in group conferences on cases is thoughtful, and the chapter devoted to this subject abounds in practical training issues. The student-supervisor chart, which represents an attempt at a quantitative measure of qualitative factors, may with reason arouse adverse comment. The author anticipates criticism by stressing the tentative use of this admittedly rough measuring-stick which was resorted to with an awareness of its limitations and with an appreciation of how very relative the conclusions must be. Finally, in the two concluding chapters some interesting findings are given on the volume and quality of psychiatric social work and an analysis of the relation between volume and quality of work. In this connection the examples of training experience in which specific student reactions are cited give a more complete picture of the interplay of the quantitative and qualitative factors in achievement.

The study is of particular interest not only because so little has been written about the field-work training of social case-workers but also because it is not a theoretical presentation of the subject. It is vital because it presents actual training practice in one center and one field. It should make a contribution to those concerned with the professional development of workers in any case-work organization as well as to those who are engaged in the training of students in psychiatric social work.

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

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*Windows on Henry Street.* By LILLIAN D. WALD. With drawings from life by James Daugherty. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1934. Pp. 348. \$3.00.

Looking out of the *Windows on Henry Street*, we see the years since 1915 vividly portrayed in the lives of people and in many significant events and movements, lit by the human interest which characterizes the life and writing of Lillian D. Wald.

"Not an autobiography," she tells us, but a story "to show the place of the settlement in the movements of the day," and the "significance of the impulse of live-minded people to come together for spiritual adventure." She feels that "the settlement is the most pliable tool for social service that has been developed, since there is nothing in its construction that forbids co-operation and action on whatever may arise from day to day." She writes in the hope of arousing the



interest of individuals, especially young people, in group relations which can effectively deal with social problems.

In rapid succession she pictures as seen from Henry Street changes which are significant of the times. She sees the growth of public responsibility, the changes in the standard of living of immigrant families, the development of the care of the delinquent, the building-up of race relations in a complex city neighborhood, the work of improving industrial relations.

Into these changes she weaves the settlement interpretation of group to group, of the individual caught in the meshes of circumstance to those who are in political or financial power, and the growth of the effectiveness of group action toward improvement of conditions. She writes of the beginnings of many movements, the introduction of ungraded rooms into the public schools, scholarship aid for school children, the protection of children in industry, the development of the Juvenile Court, the work for the establishment of the Children's Bureau, and the great service of public health nursing which was initiated by the work of Miss Wald as visiting nurse on Henry Street. The Henry Street nurses have carried the settlement spirit of neighborliness into their city-wide service, and Miss Wald traces their co-operation in health movements and in social action. Henry Street nurses have also helped in health nursing service in every country of the world with a single exception.

Among the interesting individuals who are silhouetted against the Windows are not only many of importance in American life and from countries across the seas, but also the neighbors on Henry Street, and an engaging young tramp whose "unfailing chivalry" was evidenced in his visits to Henry Street Settlement. Those who have helped make the work of Henry Street possible are portrayed by the purposes behind the gift, from the young neighbor who at her death gave the artificial arm that had been secured for her, to those who gave because they cared deeply for those things for which the settlement stood.

What happens to the dignity of man, of the home, of young people and the folk feeling of neighbors under the stress and strain of economic insecurity is brought out in the description of the "lean" years of the depressions. Miss Wald outlines a charter of public responsibility for the security of the home, for child health, pensions for mothers and the aged, insurance against industrial unemployment and accident, and a minimum wage and short work day.

Through dramatic stories of real life, Miss Wald describes the effect on family and neighborhood of the saloon of the pre-prohibition day and of the alliance between liquor and politics. Recounting the change that came with prohibition, and the return of many of the old problems with the repeal, she challenges all to work together for some sound policy for control of the liquor traffic.

Through visits of many Russians to Henry Street and a visit of Miss Wald to Russia, reflections of phases of that great experiment are given in the book.

The war years brought out the significance that a small group may have in

influencing public opinion and in emphasizing minority points of view. The American Union against Militarism, of which Miss Wald was chairman during the war years, was such a group. Pacifist views were tested in the fire of opposition, resulting in the withdrawal of some support from the nursing work.

The *Windows on Henry Street* is not technically an autobiography. But it is through the personality of Lillian D. Wald that we look at the lives and fortunes of people on Henry Street, and those who visited there, and follow with her the movements for social justice, pictured in stories told with sympathy and humor and a "kinship toward all people." With her we conclude "that no one group or nation dare be an economic or social law unto itself."

LEA D. TAYLOR

CHICAGO COMMONS

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*The Family, Its Sociology and Social Psychiatry.* By JOSEPH KIRK FOLSOM. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1934. Pp. xiii+604. \$4.00.

*The American Family.* By ERNEST R. GROVES. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1934. Pp. 500. \$3.00.

*The Family.* By M. F. NIMKOFF. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934. Pp. x+526. \$3.00.

These volumes represent the interest now being manifested in constructive attempts to understand the institution of the family, and to make available for the young the knowledge upon which sound social programs may be developed with reference to this essential institution of the community.

The third on the list, Professor Nimkoff's, which has been prepared under the editorship of Professor William F. Ogburn, who prefaces the volume with an editorial note, is well adapted for use in college classes to which possibly students in their third and fourth year of college work are admitted. It has all the technical equipment of a college textbook. Each chapter is supplemented by a list of special readings, questions for discussion, and topics for reports. In addition to these special aids to the instructor, the entire discussion is accurately and adequately documented. Professor Ogburn's particular tribute to the discussion is based upon the fact that it "rides no particular hobbies, and exploits no special prejudices."

Professor Nimkoff introduces the subject by describing the structure of the family and enumerating its functions, then proceeds to a discussion of its past, and later develops the biological and the psycho-social aspects for which the young student is, perhaps, less well prepared at the beginning of his study.

Professor Groves's discussion has all the grace and charm of his earlier volumes. He has embodied in this the material that was in his earlier publication, but has added greatly to that material so that it is, in fact as well as in name, a new contribution to the literature on the subject. Professor Groves begins with a statement of the family's social significance and plunges at once into the

field of biological origin. However, he devotes a limited space to the discussion of the biological aspects and leaves for a chapter toward the end of the book, in a discussion on the "Eugenic Approach," a further elaboration of the biological implication. It is hardly necessary to comment on Professor Groves's sympathetic attitude toward the problems, although one feels that his claim to have given the first college course on the family is hardly justified. As early as 1906 or 1907, in the Department of Household Administration in the University of Chicago, as much of the material as was then available, dealing with the historic, economic, the administrative, and the legal aspects of family relationships, was organized into a series of courses, substantially covering the field with which Professor Groves so skilfully deals. It was not then possible to discuss in the frank way that has now become possible the biological aspects of sex relationships, and the names of Freud and Jung were not then household words. But no one can claim a grace or skill in discussing difficult topics equal to that of Professor Groves. This volume, like that of Professor Nimkoff's, is prepared for use in the classroom, and the chapters are supplemented by "selected references." There is also, at the end, a supplementary bibliography of considerable length.

Professor Folsom, under the editorial leadership of Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild, is responsible for a more extended and more ambitious discussion than either of the other two. It is a very handsome volume that he has put out. The chapters here are likewise supplemented by extended lists of references. There is a lengthy bibliography and suggested research projects are proposed. The volume will undoubtedly prove useful in graduate courses in the departments of sociology and psychology. Professor Folsom introduces the student at once to the anthropological field of material and passes swiftly to the psychological problems involved in the adjustment to each other of members of the group. He then reviews the ethnological and historical aspects of family organization and social relationships which are the subject of wide discussion and heated controversy.

Reference is made by each of these authors to what might be called the social work aspect of family problems. Professor Folsom, perhaps more than the other two writers, elaborates the recommendations on method of treatment characteristic of certain social work proposals. No one of the authors is pessimistic, and Professor Folsom ventures to close his discussion with such positive optimism as is found in the statement: "*Liberty and diversity will be used not to destroy but to protect and enrich the essential, subcultural, human values*" (p. 574).

The student cannot fail to be impressed with the rapid increase in the materials available in this field. The psychoanalyst, the psychiatrist, and the social worker are making possible an understanding of conflicts and their treatment which a quarter of a century ago seemed incomprehensible, inexplicable, and irremediable.

S. P. B.

*Group Treatment for Transients.* By ROBERT S. WILSON and DOROTHY B. DE LA POLE. New York: The National Association for Travelers Aid and Transient Service, 1934. Pp. 155.

One school of thought, of which the leaders of the London C.O.S. continue to be the chief exponent, has consistently advocated that all constructive relief activities must be on an individualized basis. An opposite opinion is that group provisions afford a satisfactory, if not superior, means of assistance for large numbers of those who periodically fall into distress. These divergent views, which thus far have not been widely debated in this country, are likely to challenge increased attention as the movement for the various social insurances gains momentum.

The present study comes out squarely in favor of an extensive use of the group approach. "It has become increasingly apparent," assert the authors, "that while individualized service [case work] was immediately indicated and highly fundamental for some people away from or without homes, for others it was neither possible nor highly desirable." The purpose of the volume, therefore, is to suggest the ways in which group provisions can be given therapeutic content. The answer, in a nutshell, seems to be: "by providing a very high level of physical care and a very astute administrative service."

This formula has been applied in successive chapters to each of the many aspects of the transient problem—group housing, classification, clothing, sanitation, diet, camps, homosexuality, alcoholism, work relief, education, recreation, and so forth. The result is an informative and useful text.

Many social workers will be surprised to learn that there are now more than two hundred camps for transients scattered about the country. Some have been highly successful and others have failed. The failures have often been due to indiscriminate use of the camps and to lack of proper attention to classification and the details of administration. The authors found that "men sent to camp without a real willingness to see what the camp has to offer or who are over-sold on alleged advantages which the camp does not possess are likely to depart 'over the hill.' " Under such circumstances few would blame them for doing so.

Unquestionably many men resist the idea of a camp because they believe it removes them from the labor market. At present the National Re-employment Service refuses to place transients. This is a discrimination analogous to that imposed by the Settlement Acts. Most social workers think this provision is inconsistent in an industrialized society that has so often been glad to profit by the mobility of labor. The authors are convinced that transients should have an opportunity to offer their capacities in the market on an equal basis with local persons.

The question of cash payments in camps and shelters might well have been more fully discussed. In general, the government expects to pay a fair rate of wages for any work it is obliged to perform. This principle often breaks down in the administration of relief programs. At present the transients are allowed \$0.90

per week in cash. Some of these men are working full time as cooks or stenographers. In other public enterprises requiring similar types of help, such as road camps or hospitals, they would draw the going rate of pay. Their present destitution obliges them to discharge comparable duties in the transient service for subsistence and a weekly dole. The authors do not refer to the dissatisfaction this system has engendered, but they do make a strong plea for some cash relief in addition to maintenance.

The many social workers now actively connected with the transient programs will find this book useful. The authors approach their subject realistically and with a clear desire to contribute practical suggestions to those who face the actual problems of administration.

WAYNE McMILLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*New Frontiers.* By HENRY A. WALLACE. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1934. Pp. vi+314. \$2.00.

Long before the end of his first year in office, the American public was convinced that Secretary Wallace's proposals were sincere and based on years of study of the agricultural problems. Social workers will find this book interesting because it sets forth his reasons for the adoption of the AAA program and also because his social philosophy and objectives have influenced decisions as to many other plans and policies of the New Deal.

Secretary Wallace is an idealist, but a practical one. He appreciates the inevitable swing of public opinion from liberal to conservative and back to liberal, and finds that usually only once in a generation is the liberal given a chance to make real progress. This is why he wants the New Deal to be understood and accomplished now. He appreciates the difficulties. He tells us briefly of the resources of the "pressure" groups in Washington and the methods they have employed in the past. But he thinks they can be circumvented some of the time, if not all the time, by democratic processes.

Wallace's "new frontier" is a state of mind. He tells us its "keynote" is "co-operation just as that of the old frontier was individualistic competition. The mechanism of progress of the new frontier is social invention, whereas that of the old frontier was mechanical invention and the competitive seizure of opportunities for wealth. Power and wealth were worshipped in the old days. Beauty and justice and joy of spirit [he is sincere when he says it] must be worshipped in the new." He expects the "spirit of co-operative achievement" to replace the old competitive search for wealth and power. It is easy to say that Wallace is looking for a utopia, but progress toward these ideals is necessary not for a utopia but for a greater measure of social justice in the United States.

Mr. Wallace and his able assistants and advisers are men who, during the discouraging years between 1920 and 1933, were continually seeking a way to establish "an equilibrium of agriculture and industry." They made no headway until

the New Deal gave them a chance to try out the domestic allotment plan. Secretary Wallace sees "the processing tax as part of the Administration's effort to give unprotected and unorganized groups a fair share of the nation's income" (p. 214). He has supported other cabinet officers, notably Miss Perkins, who have thought a more just distribution of wealth was necessary for permanent recovery.

Wallace's program of restriction of production was an emergency measure; but even so, a sincere believer in "democratic processes," he thought decisions must be made not only by Congress but by the farmers themselves in groups and as individuals. Some four thousand townships and county Agricultural Control Associations were organized to put into effect this new economic program for agriculture. Mr. Wallace believes the value of this method of organizing his program is by no means limited to the emergency. "Long after the purposes of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration have changed," he tells us, "the members of these County Control Associations will be utilizing the methods of economic democracy to approach national agricultural problems in a broader, more understanding spirit" (p. 264). He was not disappointed in the ability of the farmers to understand and to execute a plan. He reports that "the average level of intelligence of the farmer committeemen as displayed in their country meetings is at least as high as that of the directors of the one hundred largest corporations of the United States" (p. 265). Certainly they were no more selfish, and there were no figureheads representing inherited wealth or dummy organizations on the farmer committees.

Mr. Wallace confesses he did not like to plough under cotton or wheat or slaughter little pigs.

The paradox of want in the midst of plenty was constantly in our minds as we proceeded with schemes like the emergency hog slaughter and the butter purchase. To many of us, the only thing that made the hog slaughter acceptable was the realization that the meat and lard salvaged would go to the unemployed.

This feeling was so general in Administration circles that in October, 1933, there was organized the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation. . . . At last we had a mechanism through which the surplus could reach the hungry. . . .

Not many people realized how radical it was—this idea of having the Government buy from those who had too much, in order to give to those who had too little. So direct a method of resolving the paradox of want in the midst of plenty doubtless could never have got beyond the discussion stage before 1933 [pp. 183-84].

Mr. Wallace had hoped, he tells us, that the Corporation might be empowered to purchase industrial, as well as agricultural, surpluses. Perhaps his plan was not so "radical" as he thought. Apparently he does not know that, in spite of instructions from Washington, it was impossible for relief agencies which did not have funds to provide balanced budgets for their clients, not to take into account the enormous quantities of butter, pork, beef, bread, etc., which this policy of purchasing and distributing "surplus food" made available. As a result, food purchases by or for relief families were often reduced, food supplies

were sometimes wasted, and the commissary system, instead of cash relief, was given new support by this federal policy. It may have been justified as an agricultural recovery measure, but as a relief policy it has nothing to recommend it. The unemployed should be enabled, by work or cash relief, to buy their own food and clothes, pay their own rent. In the long run that is best for industry and agriculture, as well as for the unemployed.

GRACE ABBOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Statelessness: With Special Reference to the United States. (A Study in Nationality and Conflict of Laws.)* By CATHERYN SECKLER-HUDSON with an Introduction by JAMES BROWN SCOTT. Washington, D.C.: Digest Press, American University Graduate School, 1934. Pp. xxi+332. \$3.00.

The subject of nationality is obviously one of the most important problems engaging the attention of students in the field of public law since in a number of cases the enjoyment of important private rights depends on the national status of the individual. Aside from the general interest growing out of its inherent significance, the fact that the nationality of married women has occupied the attention of the organized groups of newly enfranchised women, has been four times the subject of congressional legislation in the so-called Cable Acts, as well as the object of international agitation at the Hague in 1930, at Geneva in 1931, and at Montevideo in 1933 has given the subject wide publicity. Statelessness and multiple nationality have become familiar phenomena; and the grave inconveniences connected with the former, the possible confusion resulting from the latter, are matters of common knowledge. The questions now asked are how, in the present state of strong nationalistic attitude and diversified views upon the subject of the status of women, can the evils be cured.

This volume, which contains an extended review of the legal aspects of the subject together with an exhaustive analysis of the social and occupational consequences of statelessness and careful proposals of remedies adapted to the peculiar ills that result, is the first of a series of volumes announced by the Executive Board of the Cumulative Digest of International Law and Relations to be published by the Digest Press. Perhaps in this place it will suffice to call attention to the remedial measures proposed by Dr. Seckler-Hudson and to note that, while Dr. James Brown Scott, whose support has been conspicuously given to the efforts of the Woman's Party and the Inter-American Commission of Women in their advocacy of equal rights, gives the volume his enthusiastic endorsement, nothing is said in this volume of the great importance of independent nationality of married women; in fact, considerable attention is devoted to the question of mitigating the condition of statelessness into which many women have been brought by the so-called Cable Acts, which were based in general on that principle. It should not be concluded, however, that greater attention is paid to the distress of the woman "without a country" than to that of the man or



the child who is without any jurisdiction. The chapter on statelessness resulting from other causes than marriage and that on "Statelessness of Minors" contain equally convincing evidence of the disastrous results of leaving men and infants outside the jurisdictional responsibility of any nation.

Dr. Seckler-Hudson summarized her proposals for remedial legislation in the following terms:

- First,—provision of United States citizenship for the wife of an American citizen when she would otherwise be stateless, and also provision of such citizenship for former American women who have lost United States citizenship through marriage;
- Second,—adoption of the principle that mere absence from the country does not effect absolute expatriation therefrom;
- Third,—elimination, in so far as possible, of the effects of statelessness for those residents of this country who have no nationality;
- Fourth,—abolition of complete denationalization by governmental action;
- Fifth,—adjustment of the system of deportation so as to prevent the injustices of statelessness from falling upon helpless individuals;
- Sixth,—extension of United States citizenship to the illegitimate children of American parents, regardless of the place of birth;
- Seventh,—adoption of the principle that a child should not suffer loss of nationality because of any act on the part of the parent;
- Eighth,—extension of United States citizenship to the foreign-born children of American fathers, the fathers having never resided in the United States, when such children would otherwise be stateless;
- Ninth,—provision of United States citizenship for children first found in the United States (foundlings). [P. 270.]

It will be interesting to note the extent to which the author agrees with the Interdepartmental Committee appointed in 1933 by the President "to review the National Laws of the United States; to recommend revisions, particularly with reference to the removal of certain existing discriminations, and to codify those laws into one comprehensive nationality law for submission to the Congress at the next session."

The volume is fully documented and the Appendixes contain not only copies of the important statutes, and references to extended sources in international law; the statutes of the United States are listed, as are treaties, administrative and executive publications, Congressional hearings and debates, League of Nations and World Court documents, and there is an extended bibliography of non-official sources.

S. P. B.

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*Emotional Currents in American History.* By J. H. DENISON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932. Pp. 420. \$5.00.

It is difficult to imagine for what audience this book was written. It is the author's thesis that the fundamental part played by emotional forces in shaping American history has not been sufficiently emphasized. He wishes to persuade the student to re-read our history in order to realize, in the words of the author,

the manner in which the emotions of people have been manipulated with a hope that the reader may discover how unimportant is the individual tossed about on great psychic waves, moved hither and yon as mere pawns in the battle of emotionally charged ideas. Mr. Denison does not make any claim to original research. Merely are the facts gleamed from the recognized histories of the United States presented with the author's own interpretation. Therefore, the volume is obviously intended for popular consumption, rather than as a contribution to historical material.

The first chapter, entitled "The Miracle of American Unity," begins with a reference to the last Democratic convention, introducing the author's thesis, which is belabored through twenty-seven chapters, and ending with a conclusion bearing the imposing title "The Map of Human Emotions." In chapter xi, the author works himself up into a panegyric of praise for the American system with its "Fairy Godmother," i.e., American prosperity, transformed from the "Great Enchantress, the Old Spirit of Commerce and Gain," showering untold benefits upon the working-class population of the country. Viewed in 1933, no chapter could better illustrate the ephemeral character of this volume published in 1932.

The reconstruction of certain periods in American history and the reinterpretation of old materials must go on all the time. An illustration is the recent researches into the data relating to the era of reconstruction in the South which have made definite contribution to our knowledge and understanding of that period, so long a controversial subject. Historians are the last to claim that history should not be written with a certain bias, or point of view. Investigators must be selective among the thousands of facts they must choose. Even original documents tend to be selective in the data they report. At every point, judgment and the special interest of the historian must enter. The formulation of a hypothesis is a logical first step in historical writing, but, obviously, a hypothesis should encourage investigation and not become a fixed theory that rigidly controls this search for new sources or the re-examination of known materials. But it is, perhaps, superfluous to subject this volume to the test of recognized historical method. No student of history or psychology would accept the presentation, and the book is already out of date as a popular interpretation of American history.

TULANE UNIVERSITY

ELIZABETH WISNER

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*The Twilight of the Supreme Court. A History of Our Constitutional Theory.* By EDWARD S. CORWIN. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934. Pp. xxvii+237. \$2.50.

The decisions of the United States Supreme Court no longer mean simply abstruse and difficult statements by men learned in the law. They have meant to literally millions of women a decision as to whether or not the administration of the Infancy and Maternity Act would be stopped or be allowed to continue for

the brief period, so that at least for the period authorized by the law a nationwide experiment in co-operation between the states and the federal government, in behalf of the lives and welfare of mothers and babies, might be worked out. In the United States Supreme Court it has, they have found, been possible to ask the question whether or not a trial held under the domination of the mob can result in the substitution of the mob's determination, after the forms of law, for a true day in court.

The Arkansas cases<sup>1</sup> and the Scottsboro cases<sup>2</sup> have told the world that the problem of the life of a Negro man or boy who has been charged with criminal conduct should be dealt with in accordance with legal precedents and law which have been developed during these centuries when the substitution of public punishment for private vengeance has been slowly advanced. The Mooney case<sup>3</sup> may mean that just as disadvantage of race is to be rejected as a basis of discrimination, so disadvantage of economic purpose is likewise to be rejected as an evidence of unfitness to benefit from the criminal law safeguards.

At this time, then, the history of the Supreme Court has a special interest; and Professor Corwin has traced in a very illuminating fashion the gradual balancing of federal and national points of view with reference to our governmental structure, has explained and accounted for the interest of the court in the safeguarding of property rights, and has an interesting discussion of the old and insoluble dilemma of a government of laws versus a government of men, pointing out in a striking way the difference between the attitude of the court toward legislation, especially the legislation of the states, in connection with which the court became "a third house of every legislature in the country" (p. 73), and its attitude toward the spending power of the executive. In connection with the latter, Professor Corwin evidently thinks that the invention and application of a few brakes to the progress of the governmental chariot might not be too disadvantageous.

The chapters making up this volume were delivered as lectures upon the Storrs Lectureship Foundation before the Yale School of Law. In a very eloquent Foreword, Dean Clark of the Yale Law School comments upon the lectures as being unusual in that "they weave together the various strands of American constitutional doctrines to form one central pattern, in which they all find their place." To the social worker, to whom such constitutional questions as the general character of the probation officer's job, that is, whether or not he has been selected upon sound civil service methods, must be treated as constitutional (*Witter v. The County Commissioners of Cook County*);<sup>4</sup> whether or not Congress can enact child labor legislation (*Hammer v. Dagenhart*);<sup>5</sup> and whether Congress can co-operate with the states in keeping mothers and babies alive (*Massachusetts v. Mellon*),<sup>6</sup> are questions really of life and death for professional

<sup>1</sup> 261 U.S. Repts. 86 (1923).

<sup>4</sup> 256 Ill. Repts. 616 (1912).

<sup>2</sup> 287 U.S. Repts. 45 (1932).

<sup>5</sup> 247 U.S. Repts. 251 (1918).

<sup>3</sup> *Mooney v. People*, 248 U.S. Repts. 579 (1918).

<sup>6</sup> 262 U.S. Repts. 447 (1923).

social work, the nature of the judicial process, as exhibited in the work of the Supreme Court, is of compelling importance. For such discussions as this by Professor Corwin the social work group should be very grateful.

S. P. B.

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*Brandeis: Lawyer and Judge in the Modern State.* By ALPHEUS THOMAS MASON. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1933. Pp. 203. \$2.00.

This biography is especially welcome at the present time, when the influences that go eventually to make up the judicial influence on the rate and direction which the New Deal takes are of concern to everyone.

There are few figures that command more affectionate and respectful regard than that of Mr. Justice Brandeis. His enemies made known his services in a way in which his friends would never have been able to make them known, when his nomination was held up by the Senate and the question of his contribution to the wider democracies of New England life was heralded from coast to coast. In the vocabulary of many social workers the name "Brandeis" connotes the attempt to humanize not only the law but the industrial organization, especially with reference to its effect on the lives of women and children. That he is in many respects what seems to some highly conservative; that bigness is to him objectionable; that he has faith in accomplishing results by reliance on units of government smaller than the whole, is sometimes a source of regret, possibly to the impatient, possibly to those who have faith that through the recognition of new professional attainments and new skill and new intelligence, the old safeguards may be less continuously essential.

The account which Professor Mason has given of the life of Louis D. Brandeis leads us from the struggle for liberty in the Germany of '48, through the complicated and confusing experiences of the development of corporate aggregates, of whose tyranny we are now so well aware, through the brutalities and predatory character of the industrial organization of the 90's and the early 1900's, and into the challenging problems presented by the assumption of wide executive powers ostensibly in behalf of a depressed and stricken nation.

It was about the time that Louis Brandeis, "the people's attorney," was meeting the enemies of the people, that a plea was made by a great philosopher for the discovery of a moral equivalent for war, and this biography is an account of how one man has met that challenge, with full courage, great ingenuity, and absolute self-sacrifice. It is unnecessary to say that the volume, which is published by the Princeton University Press, is admirably documented and that the style is vivid and interesting. Professor Mason pictures Mr. Justice Holmes in his own pose as a "constitutional skeptic"; whereas he characterizes Justice Brandeis as "the crusader." The social worker will find the discussion of the two brands of liberalism (pp. 173-78) especially illuminating.

S. P. B.

*National Health Insurance.* By W. F. FOSTER and F. G. TAYLOR. London: Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1934. Pp. xi+263. 7s. 6d.

*National Health Insurance.* By G. F. MCCLEARY. London: H. K. Lewis & Co., 1932. Pp. x+185. 6s.

*This Panel Business: Involving the Future of the General Practitioner of Medicine.* By A. G. P. London: John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, Ltd., 1933. Pp. xii+364. 10s. 6d.

The present interest in all forms of social insurance will insure a welcome for these books. The first one listed here is the joint work of an English barrister and a Fellow of the Institute of Actuaries. They have presented a competent statement of the most important provisions of the various acts and regulations relating to the British health insurance system. The authors rightly think that a lucid explanation of the system is necessary, particularly in view of the numerous amendments to the acts, designed at first to bring about greater simplicity in the administration of the complicated scheme and to strengthen the financial arrangements, and, more recently, in the relationship between health insurance and pensions insurance. Recent legislation has also been directed to attempts to preserve the insurance rights of persons who have fallen out of employment.

Marginal references refer to the appropriate statutes and regulations. The contrast between this volume and legal poor-law treatises is interesting in that every lawyer who deals with the poor law studies an endless array of court decisions. But in the field of health insurance there are very few reported cases, since provision is made in the statutes for the settlement of disputed points by referees appointed by the Minister of Health, and some interesting cases are cited here from the *Reports of Decisions on Appeals and Applications*. These decisions are binding only with respect to the actual cases to which they refer, and principles laid down do not have force of law, and referees in later appeals are not bound by them. But these decisions are considered "leading cases" and Approved Societies regard them as indicating the probably correct interpretation of the law.

The Foster-Taylor book is not critical of the scheme, and does not suggest reforms or raise any questions regarding whether or not the system is the best that could be devised; nor does it deal with the technical actuarial aspects of the insurance system nor with the question of the general effect on the public health. It does cover the financial basis of the scheme, the principles of accounting methods in use, the administrative work of the Approved Societies, methods of paying claims, keeping records, and the means of transmitting statistical information to the central authority.

In contrast to the lawyer's clear and matter-of-fact statement about legislative provisions, Dr. McCleary appears as an insurance propagandist. But he also speaks competently and authoritatively of the British system, of which he was at one time a leading administrator. He deals not merely with the sys-

tem as it is, but with the system as it should be, and two of his most interesting chapters deal with the social value of health insurance and its future development. Dr. McCleary is well known to students of health insurance as the author of a very useful official "white paper" on the British scheme "with Special Reference to Its Medical Aspects" published by the Ministry of Health.<sup>1</sup> He is also known to social workers in this country because of the lectures delivered at Johns Hopkins, which are the basis for the present book, and because he took part in the National Conference of Social Work in 1933.

Dr. McCleary does not deal exclusively with the English system but with health insurance principles in continental countries as well. He does, however, accept the insurance principle as desirable and necessary, and he does not discuss any attempt to provide medical care without contributions paid by the workers; nor does he discuss the possible provision of medical care for selected groups, such as school children, persons drawing old-age pensions and mothers' pensions, and other groups on a universal basis, without collecting insurance contributions from the head of the family. This simpler method which many Americans think is more like the American system of providing public schools, public recreation, and certain other services without special contributions, escapes Dr. McCleary as it does other insurance advocates. The British contributory system is, undoubtedly, fastened on the British workers for at least the present generation and it is much better than nothing; but that is no reason for accepting it as the best system.

The average medical practitioner's point of view is present in the volume dealing with the panel doctor. The author represents that section of the medical profession that feels its remuneration is perhaps injured by insurance. He thinks the theory that the doctors have "the strongest trade union in the world" in the British Medical Association is a mistaken popular belief. The more fortunate medical practitioners are not, he thinks, aware of the adverse conditions under which many doctors are said to be struggling. The author writes in protest against any extension along health insurance lines. There are, in Great Britain, about 17,500 panel doctors (insurance medical practitioners), about 10,000 medical practitioners who do not accept panel practice, and there are also several thousand specialists. The writer complains that the medical profession is overcrowded, but he does not mean that there is not enough for them to do. On the contrary! But he thinks that the British nation today "cannot afford to have this work done." He does not agree with the Registrar of the General Medical Council, who says in his memorandum on "The Procedure to be adopted by those who desire to enter the Profession of Medicine, with notes on Costs and Prospects" that he thinks

there is no evidence that the supply of practitioners is in excess of the demand, or that those who qualify have any difficulty in earning a satisfactory livelihood. Those who enter the Profession, therefore, may reasonably expect a satisfactory return for the out-

<sup>1</sup> See this *Review*, IV (1930), 336; VIII (1934), 711.

lay of their time and money; and it is unnecessary to emphasise the fact that those who are successful have before them the prospect of adequate professional reward not only in money, but in gratifying work for the good of the community.

This anonymous volume might be entitled a panel doctor's book of complaints and grievances.

E. A.

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*The Social Gospel and the Christian Cultus.* By CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON. New York: Harpers, 1933. Pp. 259. \$2.00.

The chapters of this volume are the Rauschenbusch Lectures delivered last year at Colgate-Rochester Divinity School. Under such auspices it was, of course, inevitable that the lecturer should deal with some issue pertaining to the so-called "social gospel." The issue which Dr. Morrison elected to treat is the issue arising from the fact that thousands of young ministers are now in the Protestant pulpits of America, preaching a type of religion essentially similar to that which Jesus himself preached, namely, the development of a wise, humane, brotherly society here upon this good, brown earth. But all the liturgy, the hymns, the prayers, and the anthems of the churches are based upon a highly personalistic religious faith, which looks to the hereafter for its fulfilment. There is thus a sharp and irritating dichotomy in all our churches; our thought-forms, our churchly activities, are all based upon one type of thought—and here comes the minister to present a sharply divergent set of thought-forms in his preaching. He doesn't talk about salvation in personal terms; he talks about the enrichment of human life in all sorts of categories: social, political, economic, racial—and we go away feeling that we were cheated. We didn't get a sermon; we got a lecture on sociology or political science.

Now, says Dr. Morrison, this dichotomy arises out of the fact that the minister has two functions, but has been fulfilling only one of them. He is supposed to be both prophet and priest. He has been, and still is, a prophet; he lifts up his voice like a trumpet, sparing not, to show his people their sins—and the sins of which he speaks are not the personal sins at all, but the social sins which a man commits without intent or ill-will or even knowledge that he commits them. But this prophet, says Dr. Morrison, must also be a priest; he must embody his convictions in ceremonies, dramatize them in rituals, in such manner that they become native to the thought and emotion of his people. And this he does not do. The present divided state of affairs, and the present inhospitable attitude toward the social gospel, are thus the fault of the ministry.

Up to this point most of the well-educated, liberal, young ministers who read this book will give Dr. Morrison their heartiest approval and agreement. But many of them will balk at his next point. For he goes on to argue that the solution must be found in the union of all Protestantism under the historic episcopacy which now functions only in the Episcopal churches; the consecration of all



Protestant ministers into the apostolic succession now represented by the Episcopal priesthood. He feels that the union of all Protestantism under such leadership would give it stability and competence which could be secured in no other manner. He feels that democracy could find—and does find—fuller and more complete expression under the Episcopal system than under any other. He feels that the maximum value of the sacraments depends upon their being administered by a clerical order set apart from the laity by “an established procedure and a common consent which invests the celebrant with a symbolic significance above and beyond his personal character.” He feels, finally, that the authority of this priestly order can best be maintained not by sharing authority with the laity—as in the Presbyterian bodies—nor by giving the laity full authority—as in the Congregational bodies—but by making the priesthood a self-perpetuating, closed corporation.

Now, this reviewer is one of the younger ministers for whom Dr. Morrison assumes to speak; and it may be that my acquaintance among the younger ministers of this country is as close, if not as wide, as that of Dr. Morrison. And my reaction to this proposal of his—that we establish a Protestant episcopacy as above outlined—is distinctly negative. I am speaking for myself certainly; and I think also that I speak for most of my ministerial friends when I say that we don't see any point in it. All that Dr. Morrison says about the dichotomy now existing between the church-going public and the ministry strikes us as sadly true. All that he says about the social gospel meets with the heartiest approval and agreement in our minds. All that he says about the necessity of abolishing this dichotomy through the better fulfilment of our priestly functions is meat and drink to us; we only wish he might have been more definite and specific. But we gag at the idea of becoming priests in any sense that will set us apart, in the slightest degree, from the people we seek to serve. We do not crave a symbolic significance above and beyond our personal character; we want exactly the personal character's significance and no more. We do not want authority over our churches; we want to be bone of their bone, flesh of their flesh, endowed not with authority but with sympathy and understanding and something of insight. We do not want the disadvantage of being different. We want only such qualities of leadership as will result, naturally, from the human characteristics we manifest. We crave better means of expressing these insights and qualities, as a poet craves better craftsmanship, or an artist craves better technique; but we certainly have no desire for investiture with position or authority above or beyond our humanity. We readily grant to our Episcopal brothers the right to their own views on the matter; but let an Episcopal priest seek to make practical application of any authority which does not spring simply and solely from his own personal character, and how far does he get with it? His young people follow him—if they do—and his mature people respect and love him—if they do—not because he is a priest, but because he is a wise, human, friendly person, endowed with something of ability and insight and sympathy. And both his prophetic and his priestly authorities arise from the fact that he holds certain insights and cer-

tain convictions with enough tenacity and enough clarity to warrant his holding them forth in sermon and ritual from Sunday to Sunday.

And if it be argued that without such sacerdotal authority and position as the Episcopate provides the whole ecclesiastical structure will collapse, we younger ministers reply: so much the better. We'd be glad to see it collapse. We didn't come into the ministry to keep the churches, nor the -isms, alive. We didn't dedicate our lives and talents to the cause of perpetuating our denominational labels. We feel that whatever truth exists now will continue to exist and to make itself increasingly felt quite as well—and perhaps even better—if the organized churchly support of that truth be withdrawn. We feel that the truth of religion does not depend for either its propagation or its validity upon any church or all the churches, any more than the truths of chemistry depend for their truth upon the existence of chemical laboratories or chemical professors. We feel that the chemistry professor must conform to the truths of chemistry, and not seek an authority in chemistry above and beyond his own personal knowledge of the truth. We feel that the establishment, in either chemistry or religion, of any sort of hierarchy, would inevitably tend to the development of orthodoxies which would from time to time substitute themselves for the truth.

I have made a large matter of this one point of Dr. Morrison's because I feel this one point to be central to his entire thesis. But the book as a whole is splendid; it scintillates and sparkles and moves. Those who agree with the Episcopal point of view on the matter of the clergy will be able to take this book to their hearts and minds with complete satisfaction and great benefit. And the rest of us, who feel that there is a basic fallacy in Dr. Morrison's argument, can still benefit greatly by sharing his clear thought about the present status of the social gospel.

CHARLES STAFFORD BROWN

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO

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*State Welfare Administration in New Jersey.* By PAUL TUTT STAFFORD, PH.D., Department of Politics, Princeton University. Trenton: New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies, 1934. Pp. 136.

The New Jersey Department of Public Welfare has been the subject of a number of investigations within the past few years. The Department was established in 1918 after two extensive investigations into the charitable and correctional work of the state. It was just a year after the adoption under Governor Lowden of the Illinois Civil Administrative Code that New Jersey, like Illinois, brought all the welfare services into one department, giving to one authority responsibility not only for the mental and charitable institutions but for the correctional as well. Within the next few years a number of the states followed the example of these two states in this respect. Since that time, interest has been focused upon the similarities and the differences characteristic of these two types

of departmental arrangements. The Civil Administrative Code of Illinois has unfortunately taken on an almost sacrosanct aspect, and proposals to amend it are treated as well-nigh blasphemous in character; and yet no one can "point with pride" to the condition into which its welfare services have fallen. The Ohio Department has declared its task too heavy for a single administrative organization to carry.

The New Jersey Department, on the other hand, has accepted the responsibility laid upon it and has, perhaps, like *Oliver Twist*, asked constantly for more responsibility and increased opportunities when the need was clearly indicated. It has not been above partisan attack, nor beyond the criticism of the armchair social scientist, who objects to diversity of method in serving food to different groups of persons under the care of the department! It has been the subject of a number of investigations both within and without the state, the last by the Department of Politics at Princeton.

The officials responsible for the Department have felt a great sense of obligation to make known to the people of the state something of its work, but neither of the directors has found it possible to supply comprehensive reports at the end of the periods corresponding with the legislative or gubernatorial term of office.

The serious student of the problems of a state welfare structure is, therefore, very grateful for the studies of the New Jersey Department that have been made by the Department of Politics at Princeton University, and Dr. Stafford's summary is a contribution to the literature of the subject. This summary follows with some exactness the ten-year report which has recently been issued by the New Jersey Department,<sup>1</sup> but it benefits from the wider view of the problem which is possible to the student of organizations in different states. The analysis of the somewhat similar features but likewise important diversities, from which interesting conclusions are to be drawn with reference to the essential importance of many of these features of state organization, shows a comprehensive view of the problems involved. There is, too, an admirable chapter on "Fiscal Policies," in which the question of cost is presented.

A limitation which the social worker finds in this discussion, as in others for which the Department of Politics is responsible, is the lack of the point of view of the professional social worker. The test of sound organization and successful administration is, after all, the accomplishment of the purposes toward which they are directed, and it is highly important that those purposes should be kept constantly in mind when judgment is being passed. This cannot be done adequately when the writer is really not wholly aware of the nature of the task to be performed. Dr. Stafford does not pretend to be a social worker, but he has taken the trouble to assemble and to weigh the arguments of the social workers, and his discussion of their claims shows appreciation of their responsibility and a sympathetic understanding of the difference between intelligent organization for welfare and efficient organization in other fields. While it

<sup>1</sup> See this *Review*, VIII (December, 1934), 776.

is to be hoped that the New Jersey Department will find it possible to issue periodic, comprehensive official reports, presentations like this will, nevertheless, be of very great value.

S. P. B.

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*An Introduction to Statistical Analysis.* By C. H. RICHARDSON, PH.D.  
New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1934. Pp. xi+285. \$3.00.

In the Preface the author states that it is the aim of this book "to present the fundamental notions of statistical analysis in such a manner that they can be comprehended by students who have had but little training in mathematics and yet in such a way that they can be studied to advantage even by those who have had considerable mathematics." This dual aim as here developed is a useful one.

The sections covering tabulation, graphic representation, frequency distributions, mean, median, mode, geometric and harmonic means, standard deviation, and other measures of dispersion are quite elementary and are presented in such detail that they should be within the grasp of a student who has little or no mathematical training. However, some of the simplest procedures here given may appear complicated because of the excessive use of equations, a great many of which may well have been omitted.

Other sections of the text covering skewness, unadjusted moments, correlation and causation, curve-fitting, permutations, combinations and probability, point binomial, and the normal curve are more advanced; but the author has included background from algebra or analytical geometry necessary for the study of the formulas and their proofs and adaptations. This feature of the text will appeal especially to the student not trained in higher mathematics and to the student who needs to review certain fundamentals of mathematics. Other commendable features are the explanations that the author has included on the limitations of the various statistical procedures and the exercises that have been included to demonstrate the applicability of method.

Less space might have been devoted to certain subjects, such as curve-fitting, adjusted and unadjusted moments, and point binomial, in order to permit to be included some discussion of index numbers and more treatment of the analysis of relationships. The text as a whole, however, is a comprehensive treatise and should be very useful to those who wish to familiarize themselves with the more commonly used statistical procedures.

NORMA L. GOUDY

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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*Society and Education.* By JOHN A. KINNEMAN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1932. Pp. 558. \$2.00.

Social workers would agree with the author of this volume that "the teacher, above all others, needs to experience the benefits of a liberalizing and socializing

education." This textbook in educational sociology prepared for colleges, teachers' colleges, and normal schools, while one more volume offering a very generalized discussion of a wide variety of material, is, however, well written and indicates that the author has consulted some excellent sources in the respective subjects covered.

What the educational sociologist is attempting to do seems perhaps an impossible task in one brief course and in one volume of some five hundred pages. But the educational content of such course is, of course, a matter for the authorities in the field of education, and the method of presentation would probably never entirely satisfy the expert in any one of the subjects presented. It should be said that the author does offer a far better digested and more up-to-date discussion of social work than usually appears in similar volumes prepared by sociologists. The sections on the social settlement, organized charity, child-caring agencies, though necessarily brief, are well written, and there is a short but sympathetic chapter on the Negro. The visiting teacher will, perhaps, be especially interested in this volume.

ELIZABETH WISNER

TULANE UNIVERSITY

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*Mental Defect.* By LIONEL S. PENROSE, M.D. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1934. Pp. xi+205. \$2.50.

A right refreshing treatise on mental defect has Dr. Penrose, a research medical officer in the Royal Eastern Counties Institution at Colchester, Essex, written. It is factual. Greater prominence is given to the questions which arise from the scientific study of the nature and causes of mental deficiency than to the historical, legal, and administrative aspects. This alone makes the book attractive. It is neither too stereotyped to be obsolete before it can be read nor too advanced to be revolutionary before it can be approved.

Many a treatise has been lengthened into the conventional textbook size by making of heredity and environment an indigestible *soufflé*. But this treatise is quite the exception and leaves one with a wholesome, palatable morsel—scarcely more than a sampling of either one—and still hungering.

The classification of mental defect is according to the Lewis dichotomy, i.e., the subcultural group and the pathological group. Photographs are used to make the types apparent and could well be omitted. The imbeciles are recognizable from the text, and a photograph adds very little not readily visualized. And a false impression, an unfair one to both subject and author, is certainly given in the photographs of the high-grade morons. Diagnoses of the borderline should not be depended upon or made more conclusive by the photograph, for the intellectually superior can be made to appear dull-witted by improper lighting, a murky background, sloping shoulders, and a smiling resignation to the inevitable. In this particular instance it is as much or more due to distortion in photographic art as it is to astute clinical acumen to make a questionable diagnosis certain by the snapshot medium.

Two chapters have been given over to treatment, and one of them has been specifically assigned to the treatment of the feeble-minded in the United States. Treatment methods are discussed and are listed as radical, symptomatic, and preventive. Dr. Penrose says, "Although, in general, the radical treatment of mental deficiency is a depressing subject, in certain cases cures have been effected, or there are indications that further research may discover curative treatment." Indeed it is depressing! For alongside "a good example of an attempt at radical treatment which proved entirely useless was the trephining of the skulls of microcephalics," he himself regards socialization of defectives "both in and outside institutions" as a form of radical treatment. He states further, "The socializing process is nothing more than an extended application of the original philanthropic work of the middle of last century but the scope has been widened, particularly for high grade patients." Surely depressing as this is, it is not as radical as trephining the microcephalic skull! In this socializing process we learn that "defectives are not only taught trades and handicrafts, but they are taught how to amuse themselves. . . . Perhaps nothing has contributed so much to the pleasure of mental defectives as the boy scout and girl guide movements." Perhaps in England it is fundamentally different, but to the American readers conversant with institutional administration and scouting it will produce wonder and bewilderment when it is recollected that the trades available and taught, if acquired at all, to the committed mental defectives are more serviceable and beneficial to the institution and its routine than they are a means of self-support and satisfactory gratification—socializing factors—for the handicapped. One's wonder will increase too when it is recollected that "how to amuse" one's self with other feeble minds, with or without scouting, is merely enslavement to institutional life for all time and is a serfdom socialization at best. Perchance it is this dubious element of a lifelong, inescapable incarceration to institutional support that makes the process a radical form of treatment.

In discussing treatment Dr. Penrose has an opinion or two in regard to sterilization. And they are well expressed—critical, dispassionate, and fair. He writes "Actually, when put in its true proportion to other world problems, 'the menace of the feeble-minded' is a question of very moderate dimensions." Quite naturally some of his views concerning sterilization will not appeal to those of intrepid insecurity in whom inherently there pulsates a fervency, ill supported by accurate knowledge, to emasculate the helpless and the conscripted to exploitation. Dr. Penrose states that it would be possible to cope with the whole problem of mental deficiency in England by a comparatively small reduction in the annual expenditure, that is, one hundred million pounds, spent on the fighting services. He nicely spares himself a serious conflict between empire reasoning and emotion in that he fails to raise the vexing question in these days of world-wide unrest among the nations. Given the choice upon which to base dominion pride, to arouse empiric patriotism, or to maintain permanent peace (as it is politically agitated defensively today by many), which would a far-flung empire select—a

navy "second to none" and an army tense to protect against offense, or the humanitarian socialization of its handicapped ones? Perhaps the answer is too apparent and Dr. Penrose too scientific to have raised such an idle, speculative question whose answer the history of mankind has repeatedly revealed as evident and trustworthy.

With the present-day trend and widespread enactment of sterilization laws throughout the United States it would be well for the advisers and counselors of state legislators to read eight pages, beginning with page 166 of the book under review. After reading it, such baseless assertions by way of definition and upon such untenable grounds as have been made by American legislative bodies would never come to exist. Sheer shame for stark stupidity would keep such sly assertions secretive. In the state of Washington, for example, there has been introduced a bill (S5) of which the following *re* the sexual sterilization of persons who may be potential parents of socially inadequate offspring is quoted verbatim. To give emphasis to the vagaries of zeal in the absence of absolute knowledge and the dread of further study, words have been italicized by the reviewer. This bill of 1935 defines a socially inadequate person as

one who by his or her own effort, *regardless of etiology or prognosis*, fails chronically, in comparison with normal persons, to maintain himself or herself as a useful member of the organized social life of the state, exempting therefrom persons whose social ineffectiveness is due to the normal exigencies of youth, old age, curable injuries and/or temporary physical or mental illness.

A potential parent of socially inadequate offspring is defined as a person who, *regardless of his or her own physical, physiological, or psychological personality*, and of the nature of the germ plasm of such person's co-parent, is a potential parent at least *one fourth* of whose *possible offspring*, because of a *certain* inheritance from said parent of one or more inferior or degenerate physical, physiological, or psychological qualities, would, on the average, according to the demonstrated laws of heredity, *most probably* function as socially inadequate persons; or at least one half of whose possible offspring would receive from said parent and would carry in the germ plasm, but would *not necessarily show* in the personality, the genes or genes-complex for one or more inferior or degenerate physical, physiological, or psychological qualities, the *appearance* of which quality or qualities in the personality would cause the possessor thereof to function as a socially inadequate person, under the normal environment of the state.

The last chapter, "Treatment in the United States," is outlined and discussed quite as conventionally and discreetly as an honest reporter would feel bound to do. The conclusion reached is, however, more hopeful than exact. It is expressed tersely thus: "The hopeful fact is that a large proportion of mentally deficient persons can be diverted into channels of social usefulness—made social assets rather than social liabilities." And as one closes this extremely reassuring and readable book, one is left wondering, "Why not, then, more courageous diversion and less of the snapshot stealth so universally clung to?"

H. E. CHAMBERLAIN

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## BRIEF NOTICES

*Social Service Year Book of Chicago, 1933.* Edited by LINN BRANDENBURG. Chicago: Council of Social Agencies of Chicago, 1934. Pp. viii+87. \$0.65.

The *Social Service Year Book of Chicago, 1932*, published by the Council of Social Agencies of Chicago, was an innovation in the social work field in Chicago. The enthusiastic reception it received encouraged the Council to expand the scope of the volume covering the activities of 1933. Last year the book contained chapters on "Family Relief and Service," "Care of Non-Family Men and Women," "Child-Caring Agencies," "Care of the Aged," "Health Services," and "Group Work Agencies." In addition to chapters on these subjects the 1933 volume contains chapters on "Care of Adult Offenders," "Financing of Social Work in Chicago," "Maintaining Standards of Social Work in Chicago," and "Social Work Interpretation." The 1932 edition was 66 pages in length and contained 20 statistical tables and 6 graphs. The new issue is 87 pages long and contains 30 tables and 5 graphs.

In addition to statistics showing volume, trends, and cost of services, most of the chapters give a succinct statement concerning new policies. For example, the chapter on "Child Welfare," by Jacob Kepecs, describes the cuts in the services rendered by the public schools which the so-called "economy budget" of the School Board necessitated. This chapter also outlines the changes in policy instituted by the new judge of the Juvenile Court. The chapter on "Adult Offenders," by Harrison A. Dobbs and Max Stern, presents a very clear description of the rather complex facilities for treatment of these groups. In a chapter entitled "Maintaining Standards of Social Work in Chicago," Edith Abbott describes the interesting voluntary merit system which has kept the appointment of social workers in Cook County out of the realm of partisan politics. Arthur J. Todd summarizes the developments in the financing of social work and ventures an estimate of \$75,000,000 as the total bill for public and private social work in Chicago in 1933.

The entire volume is a masterpiece of condensation. Every chapter bulges with facts. It is to be hoped that subsequent issues will follow the same general pattern. A more elaborate publication would merely fill in the details of the present summaries—probably at the price of attracting a much smaller number of readers.

A. W. McM.

*Organization for Social Welfare.* By GEORGE B. MANGOLD. New York: Macmillan Co., 1934. Pp. 476. \$3.50.

Professor Mangold is well known for his statement with reference to child welfare. This contribution to the study of organization for social welfare will undoubtedly likewise prove serviceable to those institutions in which courses on the subject of social work are included in undergraduate curricula. In less than five hundred pages it covers social work, both public and private (chaps. ii and iii); child welfare (chaps. iv and v); "The Adult Dependent" (chap. vi); "Family Welfare Work" (chap. vii); "Social Aspects of Delinquency" (chap. xiii); "Medical and Psychiatric Social Work" (chap. xi). He devotes a chapter to "Medical Charities" (chap. x) and the "Organization for Public Health" (chap. ix). He introduces in one chapter (viii) "Social Hygiene and Parent Education" and in a number of chapters describes the organizations, both public and private, intended for the services of the various groups named. At the end of

each chapter there is a series of "Special References," and there is a comprehensive Index. Professor Mangold's long acquaintance with the field of social work gives to any publication of his an authoritative aspect.

S. P. B.

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*An Introduction to Medical Statistics.* By HILDA M. WOODS and WILLIAM T. RUSSELL. London: P. S. King. Pp. 144. 7s. 6d.

This is a useful statistical text designed especially for persons concerned with problems of mortality, birth, and sickness statistics. There are chapters dealing with such subjects as sampling, life-tables, standardization of the death-rate, as well as chapters devoted to such statistical processes as averages, measure of dispersion, and correlation.

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*The Black Death and Men of Learning.* By ANNA MONTGOMERY CAMPBELL. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Pp. xii+210. \$3.00.

This study presents new aspects of the great plague of 1348-50 and the later outbreak of pestilence in the fourteenth century. First of all, there is an interesting account of medical "tractates" of that period, and the effects of the Black Death in the fields of medicine, surgery, and hygiene. In general, "the practice of post-mortems and of anatomical dissection appears to have been stimulated by the epidemic, and the upward movement of surgery to have been accelerated. The public was freely instructed, in tractates generously written and scattered abroad, in principles of hygiene, sanitation, and personal prophylaxis. . . . It was an era of public sanitary ordinances, and marked the beginning of formal quarantine."

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*Men and Women of Plantagenet England.* By DOROTHY MARGARET STUART. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1932. Pp. 286. \$2.00.

The men and women of divers stations and callings pass in review here—knights and squires, tillers of the soil, craftsmen, merchants, prelates and priests, monks, friars, and nuns. There is a final chapter on the position of women, which underwent a very slow but momentous change during the more than three centuries of the Plantagenet period. The general position of women is described as follows: "Though in the antique world goddesses had been worshipped and queens obeyed, the great mass of women were doomed to subjection and servitude. Among the wealthier classes the subjection was softened by luxury and refinement; but among the poor the servitude was both bitter and hard. As is still the case in many Eastern countries, the heavier share of the field labour fell upon the women, and often while the unpytting husband rode ahead on his ass the laden wife was fain to trudge behind."

## PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

### ECONOMIC SECURITY

*Report to the President of the Committee on Economic Security.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935. Pp. vii+53.

The Committee on Economic Security, composed of the secretaries of Labor, Treasury, and Agriculture, the Attorney-General, the Federal Emergency Relief Administrator—usually referred to as the “Cabinet Committee on Economic Security”—was appointed by the President on June 8, 1934, and reported its recommendations on January 15, 1935. Its report was submitted by the President to Congress on January 17, with general approval of the measures recommended. On the same day the Wagner-Lewis Economic Security bill (S. 1130 and H.R. 4120) was introduced in both the House and the Senate, and Committee hearings were held in January and February.

The Cabinet Committee's recommendations and the provisions of the Security Bill may be grouped under two headings: (1) *Grants-in-Aid*—a new and much more comprehensive federal-aid program than we have ever before had including grants-in-aid for old age assistance and mothers' pensions on a need basis and funds to enable the Children's Bureau to co-operate with states in the care of crippled children and in a child and maternal health, and a general child welfare program, and the Public Health Service in the promotion of a general health program; (2) *Insurance*—a national, contributory old age annuity scheme for industrial workers, and voluntary insurance offered by the federal government to those in the lower income groups not covered by the compulsory plan are proposed and an unemployment compensation plan along the general lines of the Wagner-Lewis bill of the last session. These have all been much discussed in connection with the Committee Hearings on the Economic Security bill so comment is not necessary here.

The Committee's recommendations on relief have been little discussed. For those now on relief, it regards the \$4,000,000,000 public works appropriation as an integral part of the security program. It is “employment assurance.” This, it believes, will care for the “employables” now on relief, and it recommends as “sound policy” the return of the “genuine unemployables” to the local communities. The Committee analyzes the problem of what it calls “residual relief” as follows:

Unemployment has become an agglomeration of many problems. In the measures here proposed we are attempting to segregate and provide for distinguishable groups in practical ways.

One of these large groups is often referred to as the “unemployables.” This is a vague term, the exact meaning of which varies with the person making the classification.

Employability is a matter of degree; it involves not merely willingness and ability to work but also the capacity to secure and hold a job suited to the individual. Relatively few people regard themselves as unemployables, and, outside of the oldest age groups, the sick, the widowed, and deserted mothers, most adults would, in highly prosperous times, have some employment.

The fact remains that even before the depression there were large numbers of people who worked only intermittently, who might be described as being on the verge of unemployability—many of them practically dependent on private or public charity. These people are now all on relief lists, plus many others who, before the depression, were steady workers but who have now been unemployed so long that they are considered substandard from the point of view of employability.

There are also large numbers of young people who have not worked or have worked but little in private employment since they left school, primarily because they came into the industrial group during the years of depression. Then there are the physically handicapped, among whom unemployment has been particularly severe. Included on the relief lists also are an estimated total of 100,000 families in "stranded industrial communities," where they have little likelihood of ever again having steady employment. There are 300,000 impoverished farm families whose entire background is rural and whose best chance of again becoming self-supporting lies on the farm.

Policies which we believe well calculated to rehabilitate many of these groups are now being pursued by the Government. These clearly need to be carried through and will require considerable time for fruition. This is especially true of the program for rural rehabilitation and the special work and educational programs for the unemployed young people. There are other serious problems, among them those of populations attached to declining overmanned industries. Only through the active participation of the Federal Government can these problems be solved and the many hundreds of thousands of individuals involved be salvaged.

As for the genuine unemployables—or near unemployables—we believe the sound policy is to return the responsibility for their care and guidance to the States. In making this recommendation we are not unmindful of the fact that the States differ greatly as regards wealth and income. We recognize that it would impose an impossible financial burden on many State and local governments if they were forced to assume the entire present relief costs. That, however, is not what we propose. We suggest that the Federal Government shall assume primary responsibility for providing work for those able and willing to work; also that it aid the States in giving pensions to the dependent aged and to families without breadwinners. We, likewise, contemplate the continued interest of the Federal Government for a considerable time to come in rural rehabilitation and other special problems beyond the capacity of any single State. With the Federal Government carrying so much of the burden for pure unemployment, the State and local governments we believe should assume responsibility for relief. The families that have always been partially or wholly dependent on others for support can best be assisted through the tried procedures of social case work, with its individualized treatment (pp. 43-44).

The Committee recommends, however, improved care for those it plans to abandon. Its report says

we are anxious, however, that the people who will continue to need relief shall be given humane and intelligent care. Under the stimulus of Federal grants, the administration

of relief has been modernized throughout the country. In this worst depression of all time, human suffering has been alleviated much more adequately than ever before. It is not too much to say that this is the only great depression in which a majority of the people in need have really received relief. It would be tragic if these gains were to be lost.

There is some danger that this may occur. While the standards of relief and administration have been so greatly improved in these last years of stress and strain, the old poor laws remain on the statute books of nearly all States. When relief is turned back to the States it should be administered on a much higher plane than that of the old poor laws.

The States should substitute modernized public assistance laws for the ancient out-moded poor laws. They should replace uncentralized poor-law administrations with unified, efficient State and local public-welfare departments such as already exist in some States and for which all States have a nucleus in their State Emergency Relief Administrations. The Federal Government should insist as a condition of any grants in aid that standard relief practice shall be used and that the States who receive Federal moneys preserve the gains that have been made, in the care and treatment of the "unemployables." Informed public opinion can also do much and we rely upon it to thus safeguard the welfare of these unfortunate human beings and fellow citizens (pp. 44-45).

If the federal government will in fact take care of all but those who are unemployable, relief costs would be greatly reduced for some states; for others they would be greatly increased. Federal grants-in-aid to the states conditioned on enactment of a modern public assistance law would seem to be the only way in which the federal government can withdraw without great suffering and confusion.

Social workers generally approve of "work assurance" but they do not agree with the Cabinet Committee that work can be provided for all employables. Therefore, they regard the attempt to divide those now on emergency relief who are neither aged or widows, into "employables" and "unemployables" as unsound and certain to result in great confusion and the unjust classification of many, many thousands for whom work cannot be provided.

It is difficult to understand why, in the case of the two groups which can be set off from the others—the aged and widowed mothers—the Committee recommends a combined state and federal plan, while for categories which are admittedly unscientific it recommends divided responsibility.

A medical care program was not recommended, but the following statement was made on this subject indicating that the Committee is moving, we regret to say, toward health insurance rather than increased facilities for medical care.

The Committee points out that

the development of more adequate public-health services is the first and most inexpensive step in furnishing economic security against illness. There remains the problem of enabling self-supporting families of small and moderate means to budget against the loss of wages on account of illness and against the costs of medical services needed by their members. The nature of this problem and the nature of the risks which it involves calls for an application of the insurance principle to replace the variable and uncertain costs for individuals by the fixed and predictable costs for large groups of individuals.

The Committee's staff has, we are told, made an extensive review of insurance against the risks of illness, including the experience which has accumulated in the United States, and in other countries of the world. Based upon these studies the staff has prepared a tentative plan of insurance believed adequate for the needs of American citizens with small means and appropriate to existing conditions in the United States.

The plan as proposed is summarized as follows:

1. The fundamental goals of health insurance are: (a) The provision of adequate health and medical services to the insured population and their families; (b) the development of a system whereby people are enabled to budget the costs of wage loss and of medical costs; (c) the assurance of reasonably adequate remuneration to medical practitioners and institutions; (d) the development under professional auspices of new incentives for improvement in the quality of medical services.
2. In the administration of the services the medical professions should be accorded responsibility for the control of professional personnel and procedures and for the maintenance and improvement of the quality of service; practitioners should have broad freedom to engage in insurance practice, to accept or reject patients, and to choose the procedure of remuneration for their services; insured persons should have freedom to choose their physicians and institutions; and the insurance plan shall recognize the continuance of the private practice of medicine and of the allied professions.
3. Health insurance should exclude commercial or other intermediary agents between the insured population and the professional agencies which serve them.
4. The insurance benefits must be considered in two broad classes: (a) Cash payments in partial replacement of wage-loss due to sickness and for maternity cases, and (b) health and medical services.
5. The administration of cash payments should be designed along the same general lines as for unemployment insurance and, so far as may be practical, should be linked with the administration of unemployment benefits.
6. The administration of health and medical services should be designed on a State-wide basis, under a Federal law of a permissive character. The administrative provisions should be adapted to agricultural and sparsely settled areas as well as to industrial sections, through the use of alternative procedures in raising the funds and furnishing the services.
7. The costs of cash payments to serve in partial replacement of wage loss are estimated as from 1 to 1½ per cent of pay roll.
8. The costs of health and medical services, under health insurance, for the employed population with family earnings up to \$3,000 a year, is not primarily a problem of finding new funds, but of budgeting present expenditures so that each family or worker carries an average risk rather than an uncertain risk. The population to be covered is accustomed to expend, on the average, about 4½ per cent of its income for medical care.
9. Existing health and medical services provided by public funds for certain diseases or for entire populations should be correlated with the services required under the contributory plan of health insurance.
10. Health and medical services for persons without income, now mainly provided by public funds, could be absorbed into a contributory insurance system through the payment by relief or other public agencies of adjusted contributions for these classes.
11. The rôle of the Federal Government is conceived to be principally (a) to estab-

lish minimum standards for health insurance practice, and (b) to provide subsidies, grants, or other financial aids or incentives to States which undertake the development of health insurance systems which meet the Federal standards (pp. 41-43).

The Committee does not say why it prefers "insurance" rather than increased facilities for medical care. There is, of course, the European precedent for insurance, but there is also the American precedent in the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis. Probably the explanation is partly economic and partly deference to what is believed to be medical opposition to any plan that does not give the incompetent doctor a chance at the fees which unemployment insurance would provide. As to this, our experience with medical care in connection with industrial accident legislation should not be disregarded.

The President attempts to distinguish between tax funds and contributions. A tax is, it should be remembered, a compulsory contribution, but the basis is ability to pay. To some people the merit of these contributory social insurance schemes lies in the fact that incomes of people too poor to pay taxes will be tapped. The "have nots" will pay and the "haves" will gain proportionately. Those in the lower income groups will, under a compulsory health insurance scheme, take care of each other when they are sick by means of a percentage tax on their earnings.

Final action on the plan outlined by the Committee's staff has been postponed in order to give the Medical Advisory Committee time for further study. Doctors are interested, of course, but so is the general public, especially those in the lower income group.

*Report of the Advisory Council to the Committee on Economic Security,<sup>1</sup>  
December 18, 1934.*

To this Advisory Council were referred the reports of the technical experts and special advisory committees which were set up by the Cabinet Committee. In general the Council's recommendations support the recommendations of the Cabinet Committee, although by a narrow majority it expressed its preference for the so-called "subsidy" form for the bill instead of the Wagner-Lewis type. As to this the report of the Council says, "All of the members recognized that each type of Federal law has distinct merits and wished their votes to be inter-

<sup>1</sup> The members of this Council appointed by the President included the following members: Frank P. Graham, chairman; Paul Kellog, vice-chairman; Grace Abbott, George Berry, Mary Dewson, Marian B. Folsom, William Green, Helen Hall, George M. Harrison, Joel D. Hunter, Morris E. Leeds, Sam Lewisohn, Raymond Moley, Elizabeth Morrissy, George H. Nordlin, Henry Ohl, Jr., Right Reverend John A. Ryan, Paul Scharrenberg, Belle Sherwin, Gerard Swope, Louis J. Taber, Walter C. Teagle, Governor John G. Winant.

Its report was filed with the Senate Finance Committee by E. E. Witte, Secretary of the Committee at the Hearings on the Security Bill, January 21, 1935.



puted not as necessarily opposing either type of law but as preferring one to the other."

On the subject of "Employment and Relief," not covered by the Security Bill, the Council's recommendations are of special interest to social workers because they relate to important issues still unsettled. We therefore quote in full Part IV of the Council's *Report*:

The report of the Special Committee<sup>2</sup> of Employment and Relief Advisory to the President's Committee on Economic Security was referred to the Council for consideration and after discussion by a sub-committee and the full Council, the report was adopted in principle.

The main recommendations of the report which are herewith restated and reaffirmed are:

I. Government Employment Program

1. All of those on relief who can be employed should be given work. To accomplish this end a governmental employment program is necessary.
2. Great care must be taken to avoid any governmental work program which will nullify its own gains by retarding recovery.
3. Programs can be devised which will provide real work for large numbers of the unemployed. In selecting projects the following things should be kept in mind:
  - (a) The program should be varied so that workers of many different skills may be employed; it should be widely distributed geographically; it should be free as possible from requirements which cause delays and hinder ready adaptation to the needs of the unemployed—such as insistence upon self-liquidation or work by contract.
  - (b) The present program of public works and work relief projects should be studied and extended as far as possible. Special attention should be given to the processing of surplus products and production for use.
  - (c) Continuous study should be given to the adopted or suggested programs of other departments of the federal, state, and local governments. For example the Committee on Medical Care is recommending the construction of 500 rural hospitals and other sanatoria. Work programs relating to the housing needs of communities can be greatly developed and the rehousing of dependent families in slum areas to be torn down is a matter which should be studied.
4. Unless work is separated from relief it loses most of its social values to the worker. Therefore the government employment program should be divorced completely from relief, and should be set up separately from the public assistance program recommended in this report.
5. Candidates for employment should be selected on the basis of their ability—not their need, but as there probably will not be sufficient government work to give employment to every one not now employed, applicants should be required to show that they are dependent on their own earnings and that they have had previous regular work experience.

<sup>2</sup> Members of this Committee are: Dorothy Kahn, chairman; Edith Abbott, Frank Bane, Fred Hoehler, Jacob Kepecs, Rev. John O'Grady, Dr. Ellen C. Potter, Gay Shepperson, Linton Swift, and Walter West.

6. The proper selection of these applicants, and their reabsorption into private industry cannot be properly done unless the work of the U.S. Employment Office and the state employment offices is expanded and strengthened and the personnel in many states improved.
7. There must be close and constant co-operation between all employment offices and the responsible authorities in governmental public assistance departments.

## II. Educational Program for Youth:

The Committee believes that the security program should contain special educational provisions for those between the ages of 16 and 21. By utilizing the educational facilities which the nation provides, and strengthening them where necessary, education could replace work as the element necessary for security for that age group. In this way a million or more competitors would be withdrawn from the labor market.

## III. Public Assistance Program:

It is very important to retain the gains which have been made in the administration of public assistance in the last few years. The standards of service are higher and relief more nearly reaches adequacy mainly because there has been federal financial aid to the states and supervision of their work. There had also been state aid and supervision of the counties and townships. These gains can not be made permanent without the revision of all the so-called poor laws in most of the states. It is rarely that such an opportunity comes to change a whole group of antiquated and sometimes inhuman laws. To do that and to retain the good in the present emergency set up, a plan is advocated for a federal department or administration through which equalization funds would be administered to the states. This would be a powerful influence in building up state and local agencies which would be able in turn to do away with the evils of the present relief system. Strong state and local departments of public welfare, well organized on a permanent rather than an emergency basis, should be encouraged as a means of providing assistance according to the varying needs of families and individuals. The best known methods are necessary to counteract the demoralization and insecurity which result from the social hazards encountered. Such assistance should be adequate, timely, certain and well administered and the state and local administrations developed on a permanent basis should be encouraged to give most careful attention to the selection and training of qualified personnel. It is therefore recommended:

1. That, there should be a permanent Public Welfare Bureau, Department or Administration in the Federal government which should administer all federal public assistance funds and coordinate federal, state and local public assistance efforts; and in which should be focused the development of whatever relationship should exist as between public assistance and other measures of Economic Security.
2. That we recommend that the proposed federal bureau or department of public welfare be given authority to require a state to consolidate its welfare functions in one satisfactory permanent department with appropriate local units as a condition to the use of state and local machinery in the administration and distribution of federal funds.
3. That the Committee asks support for a unified welfare program—federal, state and local. This should be a well-rounded program, unified administratively as

well as financially. The Committee believes that federal grants-in-aid are urgently needed not only for unemployment compensation—but also for old age pensions, mothers aid, general home assistance, care of homeless children and adults and other parts of the proposed unified welfare program. The Committee also expresses its belief that no hard and fast line can be drawn between any of these categories.

It will not be possible for the state and local governments to assume full responsibility for those families whose needs would not be met by a work program but the federal government should, through its proposed welfare administration, secure all possible co-operation from these subdivisions of government.

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### RELIEF IN RELATION TO PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

Preliminary Report of the Governor's Commission on Unemployment Relief. *New York Times*, January 22, 1935, p. 14.

The New York Commission on Unemployment Relief<sup>3</sup> made a preliminary report to Governor Lehman on January 21, 1935. In this report the Commission addressed itself to the immediate problem of whether the Temporary Emergency Relief Commission, which by the terms of the Act creating it was to expire on February 15, 1935, should be continued or whether it should be made a part of the State Department of Social Welfare.

The decision of the Commission was as follows:

1. Pending further study by the commission, legislation should be enacted extending the life of the temporary emergency relief administration from February 16, 1935, to February 15, 1936.

2. The present emergency relief act (Chapter 798 of the Laws of 1931, as amended) should be further amended to provide that the temporary emergency relief administration shall consist of six members to be appointed by the Governor, one of whom shall be a member of the State Board of Social Welfare. The law should also state that the Commissioner of Social Welfare shall be authorized to attend meetings of the administration and participate in its deliberations without the right to vote.

In its report the Commission discussed the federal program as outlined by the President on January 4, 1935. Excerpts from the report which it is believed will be of special interest at this time are given below:

<sup>3</sup> Of the thirty members of the Commission the following are well known to readers of the *Review*: Homer Folks, of the State Charities Aid Association; Mary L. Gibbons, formerly Director of Home Relief in the New York City Department of Public Welfare; T. Arnold Hill, of the Urban League for Colored People; and Ruth Taylor, Commissioner of Public Welfare, Westchester County, New York. Robert Lansdale is research secretary for the Commission.

*As to Work v. Relief*

No one doubts the social value of work as contrasted with direct relief. On the other hand, the cost of public works as contrasted with direct relief, the danger of creating further unemployment if the work provided replaces ordinary public budgetary spending or enters into actual competition with private enterprises, and the slowness with which useful works get under way, are unquestioned disadvantages. . . .

The proposed Federal works program apparently contemplates types of projects more akin to the traditional public works projects than to most of those hitherto done under work relief. It does not seem likely to us that this works program can absorb all employable persons now on the relief rolls at any early date. Emphasis was placed in the statement of the program on such undertakings as slum clearance, rural housing, rural electrification, reforestation, soil erosion elimination, highway construction, grade crossing elimination, and the like. It will be difficult if not impossible to utilize the occupational abilities and skills of all the persons now requiring public assistance. Many of these individuals have been trained in the operation of industrial machinery and are not qualified to undertake efficiently any other type of work. Thousands of them are women who have been engaged in varying capacities ranging from domestic service to professional and semi-professional duties. There are other occupational groups difficult to absorb fully in a work program such as above indicated.

The absorption of all employable persons in their present residential location is another aspect of the problem. Many of the projects which are socially desirable are not located in the centres where relief needs are greatest. Many worthwhile projects are located in small communities where relatively few persons are on relief, while, on the other hand, it will not be easy to find sufficient work of the type envisaged by the Federal program in many of the large metropolitan centres where relief needs are greatest. This same difficulty exists in regard to different sections of the country because of the disparity in their respective rates of development. . . .

Although many projects will undoubtedly be initiated directly by the Federal Government, a large number have already been suggested by the States and the localities. A great obligation rests upon this State and its municipalities to propose projects which comply with the principles laid down by the President. . . . There will be temptation to propose, in the effort to obtain a due share, if not the "lion's share" of the funds, many unnecessary, uneconomical or extravagant projects. Unless this temptation is resisted, the beneficial purposes of the President's plan will be frustrated. . . .

The investigations of the commission have already revealed that there is a tendency on the part of several local governments to transfer a part of their normal functions to work relief—thus shifting a considerable part of the cost to the State and Federal Governments. The principles laid down by the President may be used as a means to obtain money to carry on the normal current operations of local government. If this is done it will mean a corresponding loss of employment by those workers normally employed by cities, towns and counties or would involve a transfer of such workers to the Federal payrolls. . . .

*As to the So-called Unemployables*

If the proposed public works' program cares for all those able to work, the total financial burden upon the state and its municipalities would be measurably lightened. . . . The President's message clearly indicates that the work plan will be confined to those now on relief or those who subsequently become eligible for public aid. This will

undoubtedly mean an influx of new applicants to relief offices and great care must be exercised to see that persons are not admitted to relief rolls who are ineligible. We strongly recommend that the task of making initial and continuing investigation of the economic needs of those placed on the work program be left in the hands of these workers who are now operating in the offices of the Departments of Public Welfare and Emergency Relief Bureaus throughout the State. . . .

*As to Placement by Employment Offices*

We believe, further, that the actual assignment of relief recipients to work under the new program should be made, in so far as possible, on the basis of ability to perform the work available. We therefore suggest that the actual assignment of workers to the projects be made by the State and Federal employment offices in the various communities. . . . By combining the assignment function on public work with the service of providing labor for private industry, we shall be able to facilitate the transfer to normal employment which the President has indicated as the ultimate object of his plan.

*As to the Relief Organization and the Department of Social Welfare*

It may be accepted as axiomatic that since the State government must continue to share in the financing of relief it must insist upon some administrative and supervisory control over these expenditures. The only remaining question is whether a temporary State agency should be continued or whether this program should be merged at this time with our State welfare activities in a permanent State welfare organization.

There is every reason to believe that we are dealing with a problem which can no longer be considered a temporary emergency. . . .

In part, at least, for the above reason, we find considerable sentiment for the abolition now, or in the very near future, of emergency organizations and emergency relief practices. . . .

We are in complete accord with the fundamental view that ultimately all State welfare functions should be combined under the direction of one agency. . . .

In the first place, it seems to us extremely unwise to attempt to transfer the control of an organization as large as the TERA at a time when the relief load is at the very peak of expenditures to date, and when such great uncertainty exists concerning the effect of the activities to be undertaken by the Federal Government. . . .

There is danger in crystallizing in a permanent State agency an organization built up on an emergency basis. . . .

The question of the degree of responsibility resting on the State government for the care of its needy has not yet been fully determined. It may well be that the future demands on the State for the security of its citizens require an entirely new type of social welfare machinery which does not exist at the present time in either emergency or permanent form.

For the above reasons, therefore, the commission recommends to you a continuation of the present organization for at least another year.

The Commission has committees studying and expects to report later on the following subjects: (1) Finance, (2) State Welfare Organization, (3) New York City Relief Administration, (4) Home and Work Relief Policies, (5) Re-employment.

## TERA

*Three Years of Public Unemployment Relief in New York State. The Need and How It Has Been Met 1931-1934.* Temporary Emergency Relief Administration. Albany, October 15, 1934. Pp. 29.

*Emergency Relief in the State of New York, Statutes, Regulations, and Opinions and Interpretations of Counsel.* T.E.R.A. Albany, November, 1934.

State relief reports become out of date almost before they are published, and these New York reports are no exception to that rule. But whether they contain the last word or not, these reports will be permanently valuable.

New York is the oldest of the state emergency relief administrations or commissions. New York, under Governor Roosevelt's leadership, was the first state to make a large appropriation of state funds for relief, and New York was one of the last group of states to ask for federal funds. The state funds have included the following:

Initial appropriation, September, 1931 . . .	\$ 25,000,000
Bond Issue approved November, 1932 . . .	30,000,000
Bond Issue approved November, 1933 . . .	60,000,000
Bond Issue approved November, 1934 . . .	40,000,000
	<hr/>
	\$155,000,000

In addition to the large state funds, federal and local funds have brought the combined total expenditures to \$400,000,000, exclusive of C.W.A. expenditures of approximately \$88,700,000 in New York State, or a grand total of nearly half a billion.

It is significant that the chairman of the New York T.E.R.A. does not accept as practicable any prompt turning of relief back to the local authorities. In the triennium covered by the report, the chairman thinks that "the relief need, passing all bounds of theory in its magnitude and persistence, has confirmed the necessity of State aid to everyone who has been familiar with the problem, whatever his party or social creed." And the chairman is also right in saying that these years have "demonstrated the wisdom of the State of New York in its pioneer action to aid its communities in the alleviation of human suffering." The chairman also correctly prophesies that the Administration is "faced, in view of calculable trends, with the probable necessity of continuing State aid for at least several years to come, even if the most sanguine hopes for a continued business upturn should be realized."

The fourth winter of temporary emergency relief will have come to an end before this review appears and confirmed the prophecy made in this report—that the relief problem is continuing to be of mammoth proportions. The needs of the unemployed have continued to be

a colossal reality penetrating every city, town and village in the State, so widespread that its size and devastating effects are difficult for the outside observer to visualize.

From the point of view of public policy it is not only the need of the unemployed but the need of the State itself that makes adequate relief a necessity and not a choice. The chief resource of the State of New York is the initiative, capacities, strength and courage of her people, without which her other resources are worthless. The State's conservation and preservation of this human wealth is an act of simple economic self-preservation.

The other publication of the Administration serves as a convenient guide book for those who have a part in the relief administration.

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### PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN LONDON REORGANIZES

*Annual Report of the London County Council, 1932. Vol. I (Part II), Public Assistance.* No. 3034. London, 1934. Pp. 42. 1s.

This annual report of the London County Council is of special interest because it relates to the period during which the organization of public assistance in the metropolis was transformed, under the terms of the Local Government Act of 1929, from an assortment of services conducted by twenty-five independent boards of guardians into a unified system.

The Public Assistance Committee of the Council discovered that some of the boards of guardians had been in the habit of granting lump subsidies to local private charities. These charities were advised that the subsidies would continue during the current year to enable them to readjust their budgets but that after the fiscal year 1932-33 any future payments would be on the basis of services required and rendered. The reason given for this action reveals a point of view that has been rapidly gaining support in this country:

In arriving at this decision the Committee had particular regard to the fact that it is generally recognized that the function of charitable organization is to provide forms and means of assistance which are beyond the power of the poor law machinery. The Committee reached the conclusion that it was inconsistent with the accepted distinction between the proper spheres of the public authority and of the voluntary organization that money raised for the purpose of poor law relief by means of the rates should be diverted to objects which were properly met out of funds derived from charitable sources.

The question of cash relief is discussed in two connections—first with respect to school children's "boots," and second in relation to home relief budgets. It was decided the children's "boots" should not be supplied as a specific item except when "parents are unable to utilise relief in cash with discrimination in the best interests of the family as a whole."

In 1930 a relief regulation provided that at least one-half of the relief granted to an able-bodied man should be in kind. In December, 1931, this order was rescinded. This action enabled the public assistance authorities to grant the part or even the whole of the relief budget in the form of cash. As a result the proportion of relief in kind to able-bodied cases declined during the year from



58.8 per cent to 37.2 per cent. The comment on this policy will strengthen the conviction of many American social workers concerning the desirability of wider use of cash relief: "So far as London is concerned, the Minister's action has been justified by the results as there was no evidence of serious abuse as the result of this decrease in the proportion of kind granted in able-bodied cases."

Upon passage of the Determination of Need Act in 1932 the Public Assistance Committees shouldered the burden of applying a rather complicated "Means Test" to beneficiaries who had exhausted their right to benefit under the Unemployment Insurance scheme. In determining "need," certain assets were exempted by the terms of the Act, the most important of which were: (a) any interest or equity in a dwelling house in which the applicant resided; (b) capital assets (moneys and investments) below the value of £25. Assets in excess of £25 but less than £300 were to be treated as equivalent to a weekly income of 1 shilling for every complete £25. This important departure from the hoary Poor Law principle that absolute destitution is a prerequisite of assistance was obligatory in the case of insured applicants but could also be applied at the discretion of the authorities to ordinary applicants for poor relief. The London County Council decided to observe these exemptions "in suitable cases of applicants for relief on account of unemployment." The additional expense occasioned by this decision was surprisingly small.

A. W. McM.

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#### PUBLIC HEALTH IN GREAT BRITAIN

*On the State of the Public Health. Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health for the Year 1933.* London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1934. Pp. 295. 4s. 6d.

The *Annual Report* of the Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health of Great Britain, Sir George Newman, for 1933 combines a wealth of data on trends and present indices of the public health in Great Britain and a keen critical analysis of the implications of this data and of the achievements, failings, and needed changes and developments in the various health services.

Sir George Newman's conclusions as to the health of the country in 1933 merit consideration first, in view of the widespread interest here as in Great Britain in the effect of unemployment on health. I quote him directly:

1. The evidence indicates that the general health and nutrition of the population of England and Wales in 1933, taken as a whole, was well maintained, in spite of economic and social difficulties. This result is largely due to the progress of the education of the public and their good sense, to the humanitarian spirit which abounds, to the public health services of the State as expressed through the Local Authorities, to the advance of the art of Medicine and Hygiene, and to the application of the principle of insurance to old age, sickness, accidents and unemployment.

2. The evidence collected in every part of the country (including the distressed areas) also indicates that the health of the unemployed and their dependents is, as a whole, not suffering seriously or generally. Of course there are exceptions. For alongside the favourable and accurate general reports, amply confirmed, from the Local Authorities and public medical services, some of the unemployed men, particularly the younger men, and certainly many of the women and children, in the distressed areas are showing the inevitable physical signs of prolonged deprivation, though it is not a deprivation comparable in degree with that of certain periods of the nineteenth century. Yet for many of our fellow countrymen these are "hard times," though they differ from the hard times of former generations because of the comprehensive resources of public assistance and mutual aid, now available though non-existent in past days. No one can be familiar with the conditions of the distressed areas without being aware of the physical, mental, and social impairment associated with prolonged unemployment.

3. When it is said that, in the circumstances, the general national health is well maintained, it does not mean that it is equally well maintained for *all*, and can not be improved, nor that our nutritional condition could not be, and should not be, better than it is . . . [pp. 255-56].

Infant mortality continues to be a subject of major interest in Great Britain as "a sensitive index of the general health." Its enormous decline since the turn of the century is shown in a table which indicates that, had the rate observed in 1901-10 prevailed until 1933, the expected number of deaths would have been more than double the actual for the latter year (36,960). The author aptly states that there may be some difference of opinion among those entitled to judge as to what these factors are and the part each plays. But it is a matter of common agreement that improvements in the environment of infants—improved housing, personal and domestic cleanliness, increased attention to sanitation, public cleaning, disposal of refuse, storage and preparation of food, and the relative freedom from dust of public thoroughfares—have all contributed to the result, as have the well-organized services of home visiting, medical consultations, treatment centers, etc., which are now available for assistance of mothers.

While the trend of infant mortality presents a record of successful outcome of national effort, the same cannot be said of maternal mortality. It is pointed out that, although in many civilized states the maternal death-rate calculated on the same basis is much higher than the rate of 4 per 1,000 live births of Great Britain, an organized national effort has been made for ten years to reduce it, which thus far has been unsuccessful. Thirty-six counties and towns which have had for ten years an average maternal mortality above 5 per 1,000 live births are held chiefly responsible for the continuance of an exceptionally high maternal mortality rate. The experience of the high mortality towns is contrasted with that of hospitals or institutions which have had an average maternal mortality rate for ten years varying from 0.92 to 1.91, as an indication that the whole of this annual loss is not necessary. The opinion is expressed that the slow but sure effects must be awaited of the improved education now becoming available for schoolgirls from twelve to fourteen years of age in domestic economy and moth-

ercraft, for potential mothers and pregnant women, for prospective or actual husbands, for midwives, and for medical practitioners (undergraduate and post-graduate). But it is also emphasized that antenatal care is inadequate in spite of the relatively large number of antenatal centers. These centers are insufficiently used; their advice is insufficiently followed. Antenatal advice by private practitioners is not so common as it should be; in many cases the antenatal supervision in clinics, hospitals, and private practice is perfunctory, unskilled, or incomplete, and there is still far too little effective co-ordination of all the responsible parties. The neglect of the nutrition of the mother during pregnancy, particularly her diet, and too much or untimely intervention during labor are also cited as factors, as is the substantial increase in abortion and the habit of abortion. It is wisely concluded that a reduction of the toll of maternal death to its irreducible minimum can only be hoped for by unremitting attention to every detail which affects in one way or another the health of the mother and due provision for her care.

That an effort toward this goal is being made is evident, in view of the British attitude toward the Maternity and Child Welfare Service. The report states that so firmly is it established in public esteem that even in recent times of financial stringency this service was acknowledged by general assent to have a primary claim on the public funds, and has been steadily consolidated and extended.

While many public-health activities have been undertaken for the protection of infant life and for the improvement of the health of the school child, relatively little direct action has been taken either for the child of preschool age or for the adolescent passing from the ages of the school medical service to the early years of working life. A very interesting presentation and discussion in the *Report* of the trend of mortality in early childhood and adolescence brings out the fact that in the absence of direct action the mortality rates in these two age groups have not only reacted to the generally changed conditions of life over the past three-quarters of a century but that this reaction began earlier than the decline in infant mortality. The decrease in the mortality at the ages of one to five years is even greater than that recorded in the first year of life; and in the adolescent years of fifteen to twenty the death rate in 1921-30 was only 39 per cent of the rate registered in 1861-70. That further improvement is still possible is indicated by the variation which continues to exist in the death rates at ages one to five between geographical and administrative areas—child life in Great Britain is threatened more in the north than in the south and more in the urban than in the rural districts. In adolescence tuberculosis is the dominating cause of death—during the years 1921-30 it was responsible for nearly one-third of the deaths of boys and one-half of the deaths of girls. After tuberculosis during this period of life the most important contributor to the death-rate of boys is "violence," due to industrial risks and road accidents. The hope of any further additional improvement in the already low total death-rate among adolescents obviously

lies mainly in the prevention of tuberculosis, and, among boys, in the reduction of industrial and road accidents. Very timely is the expression of opinion on the need for more public attention to the "physical cultivation" of young people between leaving school and eighteen or twenty—possibly for some subsidizing or constructive action by the state itself.

Organized national attack on tuberculosis in Great Britain began twenty-one years ago. Although tremendous achievements in the control of tuberculosis are recorded, there are as yet unsolved difficulties, such as delayed notification, which occurs mainly because the infected person does not seek medical advice early enough to save himself; the need for a great deal more co-operation between the tuberculosis officer and the medical practitioner; and the relatively slower decline of tuberculosis in women between fifteen and twenty-five years of age—even an actual slight rise in some industrial districts in 1930-32. This latter, Sir George Newman wisely suggests, may be attributable to the higher strains which industrial occupation is imposing upon young women, and to the fact that when a young man daily leaves his work he is usually more free from domestic burdens than is the young woman.

The year 1933 also saw the "coming of age" of the Insurance Medical Service. Of special interest in connection with it is Sir George Newman's statement that, among the many utterances at this time concerning it, no one proposed that insurance should be stopped or curtailed—no one had the least doubt but that the medical service given to the insured population today is vastly superior to the service given to the same class of people before the introduction of national health insurance. The improvement in the service, he reports, has been steady and continuous since its inception. Three chief factors are said to have been responsible for this. The Ministry of Health has sought means of improving and simplifying conditions under which medical practitioners voluntarily contract to provide advice and treatment; the Insurance Medical Service has developed in the medical profession greater appreciation of their function as participators in a professional service for the public good; lastly, by the progress of research, methods of treatment have been made available which, until recently, were unknown or unused.

Many other chapters on such interesting and important subjects as general epidemiology, the venereal diseases, the relation of food to health and disease, add to the value of this report for students of the health problems of modern life.

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CHILDREN'S BUREAU  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

STATE GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION  
IN PENNSYLVANIA

*Report on the Organization and Administration of the Government of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.* By the PENNSYLVANIA JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE ON FINANCES. Harrisburg, 1934. Pp. xii+687.

In 1929 a Joint Legislative Committee was appointed in Pennsylvania to report to the succeeding legislature ways and means of financing the commonwealth in the future. In 1931 its existence was, however, extended, and its *Report* was finally rendered and ordered printed on March 13, 1933. The Committee benefited from the co-operative assistance of the departments of political science at the University of Pennsylvania and Temple University. The Committee disclaimed any desire "to propose any sweeping or spectacular change in the state government structure." The members of the Committee were in fact greatly impressed with the effectiveness of the existing organization and with "the honest, intelligent and sincere effort on the part of the great body of those occupying positions of trust and responsibility in the administration of the Commonwealth's business."

It recommended reductions in salaries subject to legislative regulation which they estimate will save the commonwealth \$13,000,000 a biennium and the effort to secure by consent other reductions which might add another \$8,338,092. The formula for reduction is the subtraction of \$750 from every salary and then a reduction by 20 per cent of the balance, which, in the opinion of the Committee, "would operate equitably in all salary classifications" and "particularly guard against a disproportionate reduction in the salaries of employees in the lower classifications" (p. viii).

The *Report* traces the growth of the state's functions and expenditures. Students of public welfare will be especially interested in the figures showing the growth of the state system (p. 8). By "subsidy" the Committee means a grant by the legislature to a local jurisdiction not, as is commonly suggested, to the private institutions or agency, to make possible the establishment and maintenance of adequate standards in various public activities. The figures under this category are interesting, showing great absolute increases in education, health, and welfare, those in the last category being relatively more modest than the other two and far less than the increases in the expenditures for highways.

The Committee considers at length the entire state organization. Its recommendations in relation to the departments of labor, health, education, and welfare are all interesting. Attention may be especially called, too, to the comments on the further centralization of personnel work (p. 611), for while Pennsylvania has never enacted a so-called civil service law, it has under the Civil Administrative Code an elaborate classification system. There is, too, an extremely interesting discussion of the substitution of centralized contracting for centralized purchasing, and the argument in behalf of the use of "properly

trained persons possessed of a social point of view" in the development of a sound public understanding of governmental objects and accomplishments is developed at considerable length (pp. 621-22). The interpretation, too, of the significance of the tendency toward centralization is the result of sound and accurate appreciation of interjurisdictional relationships.

We have long given lip service to the principle of local self-government, and we have paid the bill for its gross wastefulness and inefficiency. Now, when we find we can no longer pay the bill, we may discover—indeed, we must discover—that democracy does not confer upon any community the divine right to squander its substance in the maintenance of the old fashioned one-room school, in the existing methods of maintaining township and county roads, in the existing methods of tax collection on a fee basis, and in the maintenance of poor boards and other outworn institutions. Other States are moving fast toward a solution of these difficulties, by reconstructing their whole system of local government, enlarging the units, and vesting a supervisory authority in the State government for all governmental functions. What other States have done and are doing, Pennsylvania can do. And she must do [pp. 625-26].

There are a number of recommendations that would call for discussion, such as the abolition of the boards of trustees of institutions (p. 454). While others have long commanded the support of students of social welfare—the withdrawal of the grants to private institutions and agencies (p. 455), for example—they will appreciate the penetrating understanding of many of their problems and the constructive results of the theoretical consideration which this volume offers.

S. P. B.

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#### PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION IN ENGLISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT

*Report to the Minister of Health (Great Britain) by the Departmental Committee on Qualifications, Recruitment, Training and Promotion of Local Government Officers.* London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1934. Pp. 91. 1s. 6d.

During the hearings of the Royal Commission on Local Government (1923-29) considerable conflicting testimony was presented on the following points: (1) whether inefficient or unsuitable persons secure appointment to posts in the local government services; (2) whether appointments are made as a result of political, personal, or sectional influences; (3) whether it is necessary to impose a less personal method of selection. The Commission included in its recommendations a request that a departmental committee be set up to inquire into these matters. The present report summarizes the findings of the Committee to which this task was assigned.

Although the Committee found that local autonomy is the rule in making appointments, certain exceptions occur, one of the most important of which is in the administration of the Poor Law.

Qualifications for the most important Posts in local Poor Law administration are prescribed by the central office, and local governments are required to report all senior appointments. Local autonomy is also abridged in the matter of dismissals. Senior officers cannot be removed except with consent of the central authority, and by the Poor Law Act of 1930 the Minister was empowered to remove any local Poor Law officer. The National Association of Relieving Officers apparently would welcome the extension of some of these provisions to the junior positions. In their testimony they urged that assistant officers should be persons of good education and deprecated the recruitment of assistants from the ranks of those receiving relief.

The Committee takes a strong stand in favor of examinations: "We are familiar with the criticisms which can be made of examinations as an instrument in selection . . . but at the present day we do not see any satisfactory alternative where a large public service is concerned." The problem of the small jurisdictions that recruit comparatively few officers is discussed in this connection. The solution suggested is a regional grouping of local authorities for the specific purpose of conducting competitive examinations.

The whole question of bringing university graduates into local government service is assessed. The inescapable conclusion is: "Either the entire educational system of the country is mistaken, or local authorities ought to be drawing systematically on the universities [for personnel]." Great opposition to this point developed in the hearings. The committee's reaction to these objections was that "the case for bringing graduates into the local government service is so strong that the practical difficulties must be overcome." The London County Council recently arranged with the Civil Service Commission to take one graduate each year from the higher division examination through which the central government's officers are recruited. An extension of this practice to other local authorities is suggested.

In England, as in this country, a few of the universities have been attempting to equip students to qualify for specific posts in the public service. The testimony of the university representatives indicates an awakened interest in these possibilities in England—a development which, judging by the recent public statements of a few of our leading educators, has its counterpart in this country.

The vexed problem of integrating professional skill with administrative talent is carefully considered:

Take the medical officer of health of a large county council. . . . There is something to be said for the view that a layman could well undertake the management of the public health department in such authorities. The greater part of the chief officer's time is occupied with work which is administrative; indeed some of the functions ordinarily attached to the medical officer's department are quite outside the sphere of purely medical training. . . . There is the further difficulty that a technically qualified officer spends his early years on almost entirely technical work, and that his opportunity for administrative experience whilst a junior officer are likely to be limited. Add to this the undeniable fact that specialisation is apt to give just that bias to the mind



which the administrator must always be at pains to avoid, and the case against insisting on a technical qualification becomes very strong. We have confined our argument to the medical officer of health by way of illustration, but it applies, we think, to other principal officers as well.

Social workers in this country will view this reasoning with great scepticism. Too many times in our public service, social workers have found their entire program emasculated by superior officers presumed to have great administrative talents, but ignorant of the social work field. If social workers have sometimes been unsuccessful as administrators, it is not because technical qualifications are a handicap, but because too little opportunity to learn the methods and principles of administration has been afforded. The great programs of public welfare that stand out as landmarks have been directed by social workers.

In its conclusion the Committee itself confesses that its inferences concerning the use of lay administrators in the technical services may be wrong:

On the whole we are not prepared to say at present that any radical change in the existing system of appointing technically qualified officers to the principal position is desirable or practicable. . . . We are of the opinion that in the past local authorities have not laid sufficient stress on the administrative qualifications. They should go carefully into the administrative record of candidates for major appointments, and they should arrange that junior professional and technical officers have reasonable opportunities of developing administrative ability.

This concluding statement suggests the direction in which improved administration should be sought in this country. Local government service is not yet a career in this country. Lay administrative talent for the professional services would therefore be imported, not from other departments of government, but from business and politics. Under such auspices the public welfare services almost always suffer.

A. W. McM.

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#### IMMIGRATION AT ELLIS ISLAND

*Report of the Ellis Island Committee.* New York, March, 1934. Pp. 149.

Copies available (\$0.75 each) from the United States Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., or from the Foreign Language Information Service, 222 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

In June, 1933, a non-partisan committee of fifty men and women was appointed by the Secretary of Labor, "to inquire impartially into conditions at Ellis Island and the welfare of immigrants generally, and to make recommendations for the guidance of the Department." This group presented, in one hundred and fifty printed pages, the *Report of the Ellis Island Committee*, in March, 1934.

It is at once a survey of the present immigration situation; a brief statement of the immigration policies which have led up to the present; a sketch of the departmental organization within the federal government, charged with the administration of immigration and naturalization laws; and a substantial body of

recommendations designed to bring about improvements in the law and its enforcement.

Part I, "America and the Alien," is a "summary of the Committee's point of view." Part II includes five chapters on "Ellis Island," and Part III, eight chapters on "Conditions at Large." Part IV embodies the Committee's "Recommendations."

The report lays no claim to any exhaustive treatment of its subject. Its approach is direct; its deductions, succinct. The point of view betrays neither "anti-alien" nor "pro-alien" bias. It might be regarded in some quarters as a "middle-of-the-road" document. It is, however, presented with understanding and grasp of the present situation of the foreign born in the United States, as well as unusual familiarity with the statutes, their court interpretations, the administrative policies and procedures which govern migration into or out of the United States, and that aspect of assimilation represented by citizenship through naturalization.

The Committee opens its report with the assertion that our immigration laws have met the challenge of the depression. They have permitted the most drastic reduction in immigration and yet have retained a flexibility adapted to changing conditions. The Committee sees no reason for substantial amendment. It believes that the present policy of restriction should be continued.

The later findings of the Committee demonstrate, however, that the immigration laws of the United States have at many points *not* provided "a flexibility adapted to changing conditions"; that, on the contrary, they have frequently not only defeated their own ends but have, by their rigid terms, actually given rise to problems more serious than those they aimed to correct.

Among illustrations of such inflexibility might be cited:

1. The separation of families by the fixed, unbending categories of the Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924;
2. The separation of families by the mandatory features of deportation provisions that apply to the individual, regardless of his family ties;
3. The perpetual banishment brought about by the Deportation-Exclusion-Felony Act of March 4, 1929, notwithstanding its Amendment, even though the circumstances leading to deportation should undergo entire change subsequent to deportation;
4. The individual's present inability under the law, as it stands, to change his formal immigration status in the United States, when it has actually changed in fact;
5. The defeat of the applicant's attempt to become naturalized, because he may have made mistakes, though quite unintentionally, in the form or substance of his first declarations, only to find later that, under interpretations of the various naturalization provisions, mistakes once made are indelible.

The Committee is certainly to be seriously challenged as to its assertion of the law's "flexibility," were it not that its later findings disclose a more penetrating analysis of the human results of statutory inflexibility, and the Commit-

tee's own consequent recommendations for the conferring of discretionary powers upon the Secretary of Labor.

The five chapters on Ellis Island portray a picture of the physical structure and equipment of this chief receiving station of the United States, together with a practical statement and architect's "lay-out" of the modernizations needed. Provisions regarding baggage, money exchange, taxi service, railroad routing westward, and conditions on the piers are covered; and the necessity of instituting further checks against old and new types of exploitation is pointed out. A description of "what happens to the incoming alien," and to the outgoing deportee or repatriate, includes medical and other inspection, conditions during detention, special inquiry hearings, and the procedure in exclusion, appeal, admission on bond, medical treatment, and service of social welfare agencies on the Island, and the organization of the administrative officers in the now combined United States Immigration and Naturalization Service. The Committee's recommendations regarding Ellis Island are interesting from more than a local standpoint.

With respect to certain of the physical changes recommended, the Committee was able to report, before its own work was finished, that through a Public Works Administration appropriation they were already being placed in effect.

The findings of the Committee regarding medical examination and diagnosis are of special interest, in the light of the new policies which have developed since the war. The present system is summarized as follows:

Aliens come to Ellis Island for medical examination as the result of a "screening process" of admission and exclusion which has several stages. The first stage is at the American Consulate abroad where aliens seeking admission are examined in the first instance. Having passed this examination, they arrive at New York and are examined while still on ship primarily to determine whether any physical or mental condition has developed since the original examination at the Consulate abroad. If such condition is suspected, the alien is sent to Ellis Island for further examination, at the expense of the steamship Company bringing him to port. Upon arrival at the Island, he is again examined and usually admitted or excluded. If, however, this third examination shows a more intensive examination to be necessary under observation in the hospital, he is admitted to the hospital for such observation. In the opinion of the Committee, the character of medical care in the diagnostic treatment and administrative disposition of alien patients is at present of a high and creditable quality.

Under the subject "Conditions of Admission," the Committee deals at somewhat greater length with the policy of medical examinations abroad (pp. 63-66), and recommends:

That the present practice at Ellis Island by which an adequately qualified physician representing the alien has access to the medical records and an opportunity to express his own opinion and listen to that of the medical officers of the Public Health Service, be extended to medical examinations abroad.

The Committee expresses its belief also (p. 64),

That a careful study should be made of the methods for examining immigrants now in use at Consulates abroad. Possibly a commission should be appointed to review the

whole question, and to assist in bringing about greater uniformity and improvements in other ways.

The service and functions of social workers at Ellis Island have been surveyed from time to time in the past but are also briefly described in this new Ellis Island report. Seventeen organizations are found at present to be rendering services to immigrants at the piers and the Island. The Committee is of the opinion (p. 45) that "the District Commissioner at Ellis Island must not only have an efficient staff of Government employees, but a genuinely efficient staff of social workers provided by private agencies to supplement the activities of his own staff."

In accordance with the suggestion of the General Committee of Immigrant Aid in New York, the report recommends that standards should be fixed for the qualifications of workers who represent these agencies. Agencies would be asked to withdraw workers who do not qualify. Whether or not the United States District Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization should be expected to fix those standards of qualifications for social workers, as the Committee recommends, is, however, open to question. That assistance might well be requested, instead, from the American Association of Social Workers. Standards for medical and nursing service are quite appropriately called for in this report, from the leading organizations representing those two professions. High standards in social work are just as eagerly sought and as sincerely promoted by the national organization representing the profession of social work.

The Committee's recommendation that an official Division of Information and Immigrant Aid should be established at Ellis Island is an object long desired by those familiar with the administration of the station. Its prospective duties are outlined. A modest appropriation of \$10,000 is suggested.

A permanent Board of Volunteer Visitors for the Island is also a recommendation to be adopted.

The report provides a very useful and convenient description of the official divisions which now make up the Administrative organization at Ellis Island, and suggests various additions which would improve their service. The Record Division, for instance, had on hand, at the time of the inquiry, an accumulation of four thousand cases, which represents serious delay for naturalization applicants. The Boarding Division is not always equipped with the languages of the incoming immigrants. The Committee wisely recommends (pp. 20, 21):

That boarding inspectors, appointed hereafter, shall have a working knowledge of at least one foreign language; that all boarding inspectors be urged to acquire a working knowledge of as many languages as possible; that their ability in this respect be taken into account in connection with promotions and salary increases; that until boarding inspectors are so equipped, official interpreters be regularly assigned to them, and that if the present force of interpreters is not sufficient for this purpose, additional ones be appointed.

The Committee feels that,

There is no doubt that however kindly disposed an immigration inspector may be towards the alien he is examining, the alien is troubled and apprehensive during the ex-

amination. He is very often confused by the questions asked him and when in addition an interpreter has to intervene, his answers are very likely to be inadequate or incorrect. Sometimes this gives rise to impatience and antagonism on the part of the inspector. The Committee found that in most instances, aliens held for the arrival of relatives or social workers, or for further examination at Ellis Island, were not informed as to the reason for the delay in their admission and that this occasioned in some cases much needless mental suffering.

"On the whole," however, the Committee reports (p. 21) that "the inspectors were found to be courteous and humane in the conduct of the examination," and, in general, found in officials and personnel at Ellis Island (p. 53) "a high average of competency and intelligence and generally a sympathetic handling of the alien." The new reorganization of the Immigration and Naturalization Services is set forth, and the "promotional" examinations which have taken place since the new Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization assumed office.

The chapters on general conditions affecting foreign born in the United States treat of the conditions of admission, re-entry permits, deportation, certificates of registry, change of status, exploitation of aliens, education and assimilation, and naturalization.

Attention is called to the "executive exclusion" practiced during the last few years, under the "likely to become a public charge" clause of the Immigration Act of 1917. The Committee feels that this stringency of enforcement has "worked out for the best interests of the country and usually of the would-be immigrant," but emphatically that "the human factor deserves at least equal consideration" with the economic factor. It alludes (p. 58) to the "numerous cases" which "have been brought to the Committee's attention, where for no cause except the drastic enforcement" of this clause, "the wives, husbands, children, and parents" of resident aliens and of citizens of the United States "have been refused permission to join them in this country." "This enforced separation," the Committee finds, "has resulted in broken homes, in placing a premium on bigamy, in efforts to evade the law, in exploitation, in causing American women and children to become public charges and in unhappiness and suffering—out of all proportion to the number of persons involved."

In order to alleviate the situation of separated families, the Committee makes a number of recommendations of major importance. Among them, is the familiar legislative proposal that certain "fireside" relatives be added to the non-quota classifications in the Immigration Act of 1924. Unfortunately, the Committee's program includes the qualification that this extension of non-quota status should depend upon the full citizenship of the relative in the United States. This difficult requirement has been one of the chief reasons which, in the past, have postponed the reunion of separated families and led to the evils so eloquently described in this report. Indeed, so full is the process of obstacles that naturalization frequently becomes an impossible price to pay for reunion. If the Committee had recommended this extension of status to persons whose near-relatives are legal residents of the United States, the object sought would be more effectively furthered.

The recommendation that provision be made for a method of appeal from consular decisions is of noteworthy importance:

The Committee believes that such an appeal should lie, as a matter of right, not in favor of the alien applying for a visa, but in favor of his relatives in this country, and that the State Department or some other tribunal should have definite legal authority for reversing the decision of a Consul when necessary. Such a review of Consular decisions would be one of the most effective steps that could be taken to unite the families now separated by our immigration laws.

This is another point at which, without waiting for Congress to pass new legislation, action has already been taken on the recommendation. The Secretary of State has called Mr. John Farr Simmons from important service aboard, to initiate for the Department review of consular decisions at Washington. It is the expressed desire of the Department "to humanize the enforcement of the immigration law," as the Department of Labor is doing, and especially to promote the reunion of separated families.

The Committee calls attention to the method of application of the literacy test, and suggests that in the reading text a more modern, everyday language be used.

The revision of the regulations governing foreign students, and their restored privilege of "working their way through college," is commented upon. The Committee recommends that through an amendment to the Immigration Act of 1924 they be reclassified as non-immigrants.

The system as to re-entry permits is reviewed, and changes are suggested which would lead to its simplification.

The chapter devoted to "change of status" is clear-cut as to the present futile necessity of departure from the country and new entry, in order to legalize a status which has already changed in fact. An equitable method of charging such entries against appropriate national quotas is carefully outlined.

Along similar lines are the recommendations regarding the extension of the legalization of entry privilege to persons who entered the United States subsequent to June 3, 1921. Through the Committee's proposals, the anomalous situation would be ended, for persons who are in the United States, whose record of entry is in some way irregular, who are, however, not deportable but who, on the other hand, are not eligible to naturalization.

These proposals would, moreover, relieve the hardships of some of the "innocents" who have inadvertently become deportable. The findings regarding deportation constitute one of the most interesting and important sections of the whole report. The enormous increase in the number of expulsions from the United States since the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924 places special emphasis upon the terms of the deportation provisions and upon the manner of their enforcement. Among the Committee's recommendations in this field, eight are directed toward legislative action by Congress and an equal number toward administrative action. They support in many respects the findings of President Hoover's National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement

(1931) in its report on "The Enforcement of the Deportation Laws of the United States." Among the most effective changes in a system which has violated principles of ordinary justice, and especially of family unity, are those which would confer discretion upon the Secretary of Labor regarding deportation, and those which would establish some statute of limitation with respect to expulsion. No discretion is suggested, however, for persons held to be criminals, immoral, anarchists, and "similar classes."

The necessity of more accurate diagnoses for mental or physical conditions leading to deportability; the opportunity to pay for treatment in public institutions, so that the alien need not perforce become a "public charge"; the advantages, pending deportation, of more suitable places of detention than county jails, and of the extension of release on their own recognizance; the separation of judicial and enforcement functions within the Department, are among the significant changes desired in the deportation process.

In its responsibilities in deportation, the Department of Labor has made rapid progress under the new administration. A vigorous policy of observing "due process of law" in its enforcement was instituted at once. A certain group of deportation cases in which the need of safeguarding the family was paramount, and in which special hardships would apparently result from expulsion was "stayed," pending careful study, in which the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization requested the co-operation of leading social agencies. Legislation was introduced into Congress which would grant some discretionary powers to the Secretary of Labor. Pressure of other measures in Congress this spring has delayed its passage. That it is urgently needed is not doubted by anyone who has watched at close range the operation of the deportation provisions now in effect. To this end, social workers should direct their energetic support.

In order to check exploitation of aliens, the Committee points to the need of federal legislation which would include a penalty for accepting moneys, upon the representation that action would be procured by "the Immigration and Naturalization Service, affecting the immigration or naturalization status of such alien."

In their service in preventing exploitation, as well as in other relationships, the work of social agencies in behalf of the immigrant is cited. "It is important," the Committee asserts (p. 109):

that the alien should know where to go for reliable information and sympathetic advice, when he needs it. Much is already accomplished along this line by social agencies, but much remains to be done. In all large cities, at least, there should be a widely known center to which the newcomer will automatically go for information and advice.

Toward a more thoroughgoing program for education and assimilation, the Committee also emphatically recommends (p. 115):

That as a part of the Immigration and Naturalization Service there be established at Washington a Bureau of Information and Immigrant Aid: to disseminate information which will encourage citizenship and prove valuable to the alien in his adjustment to



American life; to assemble and make available information in regard to the foreign-born, their organizations, and work organized in their behalf; to protect the alien from exploitation; to cooperate with the United States Office of Education in promoting adequate educational opportunities for the alien and foreign-born, and in general, by these and other means, to promote the assimilation of the immigrant; to work with and through duly appointed Bureaus of Information and Immigrant Aid at various ports of entry, and to organize such Bureaus at other places when deemed necessary by the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization.

The study of the naturalization process and the problems of applicants for citizenship forms only one brief chapter of the report. The fact that a committee of Cabinet members is at the present time surveying the whole field of revision of the nationality and citizenship laws of the United States suggested, perhaps, that the Ellis Island Committee need not make an exhaustive inquiry in the same direction. This report does, however, present some of the leading considerations as to changes in naturalization law and procedure.

Attention is called to the "startling decrease in the number of naturalizations" since the increase in fees went into effect in 1929. "In 1930," the Committee reports (pp. 126, 127):

... the entire cost of our Naturalization Service, as shown by the reports of the Bureau of Naturalization, was only 39 per cent of the fees collected; in 1931 it was 36 per cent and in 1932 it was 40 per cent. The government is making money out of the business of admitting aliens to citizenship when it might better be concerned in encouraging naturalization and emphasizing the ideal aspects of citizenship. American citizenship is not something that can be given a monetary value.

With reference to the administration of the naturalization laws, the Committee suggests (p. 129) that "unnecessary and vexatious technicalities should be avoided." The interpretation of Section 4 of the general Act, which provides "that an alien may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States in the following manner and not otherwise," has led, the Committee finds, to an unnecessarily "slavish compliance with every technical detail." A simple amendment, the terms of which are suggested, would clarify the intent of the statute.

The urgent need of codification of the immigration and naturalization laws is explained.

In order to facilitate the use of its report, the Committee has presented its seventeen-page "Summary of Recommendations" in two parts: "Recommendations Requiring Action by Congress" and "Recommendations Requiring Administrative Action." The logic of this arrangement leads directly back to Washington. And there, courageously at work on improvements in public service, are a Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, and a Secretary of Labor, in whose leadership, the social workers of the country have great confidence.

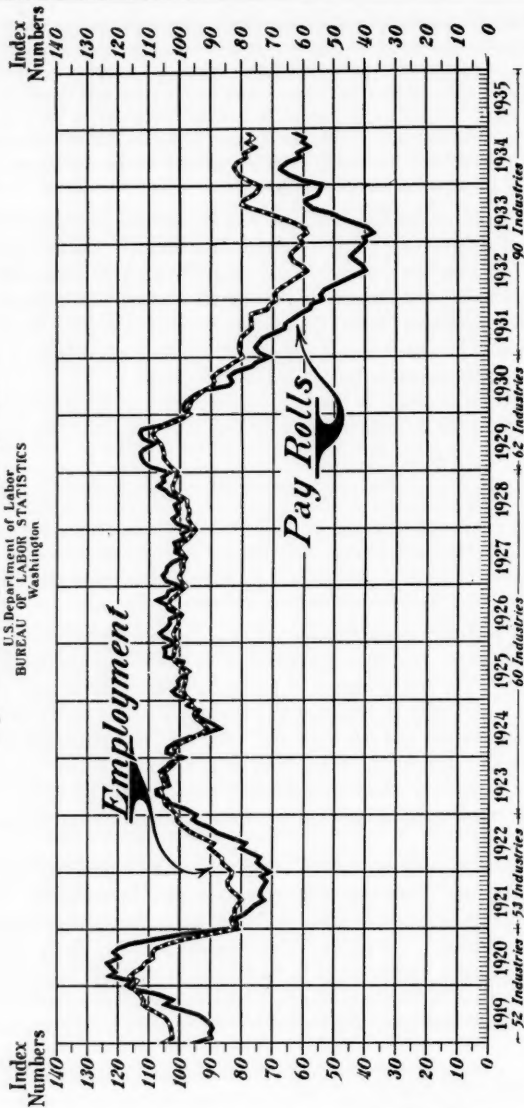
ADENA M. RICH

IMMIGRANTS' PROTECTIVE LEAGUE  
Chicago, Illinois

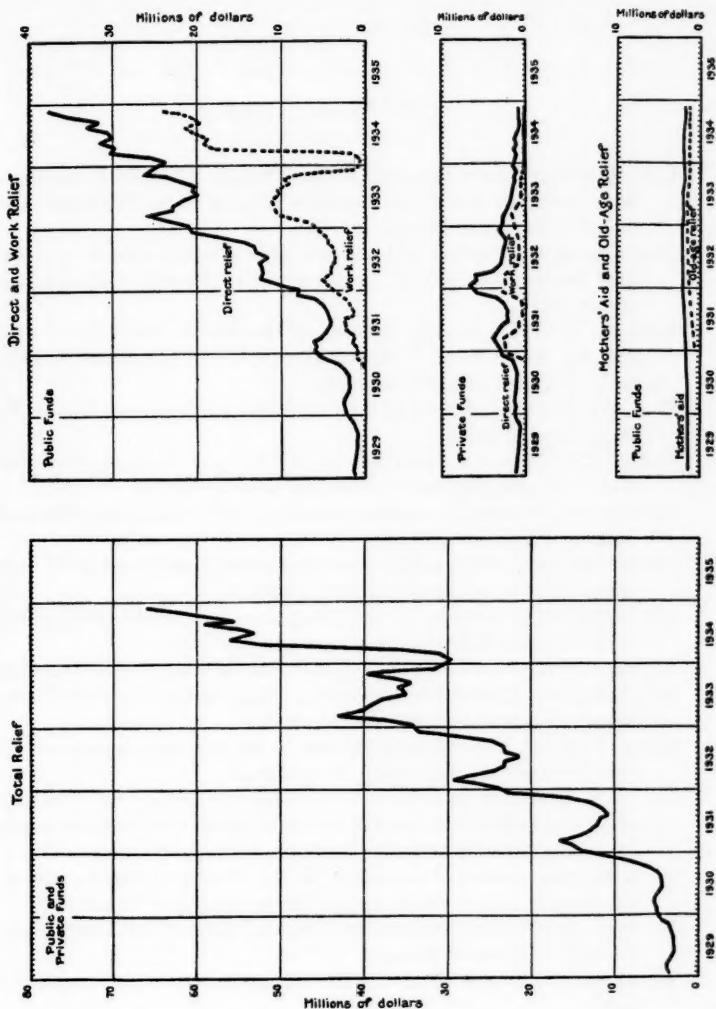
# EMPLOYMENT & PAY ROLLS in the MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

## 3 year average 1923-1925-100

U.S. Department of Labor  
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS  
Washington



RELIEF EXPENDITURES IN 120 URBAN AREAS  
U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau



## CONTRIBUTORS

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